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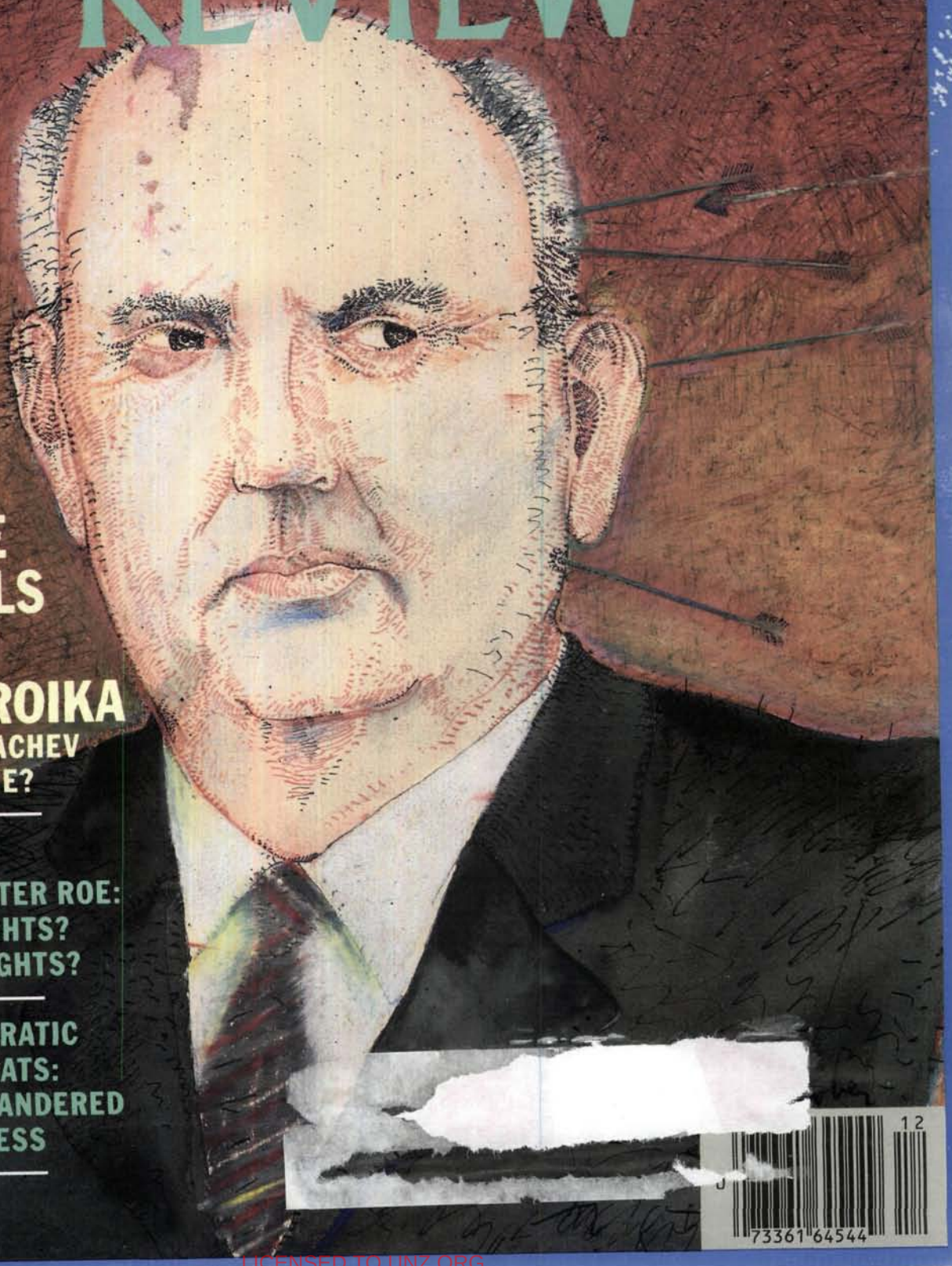
NATIONAL REVIEW



THE PERILS OF PERESTROIKA
CAN GORBACHEV SURVIVE?

ABORTION AFTER ROE:
WHAT RIGHTS?
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UNDEMOCRATIC DEMOCRATS:
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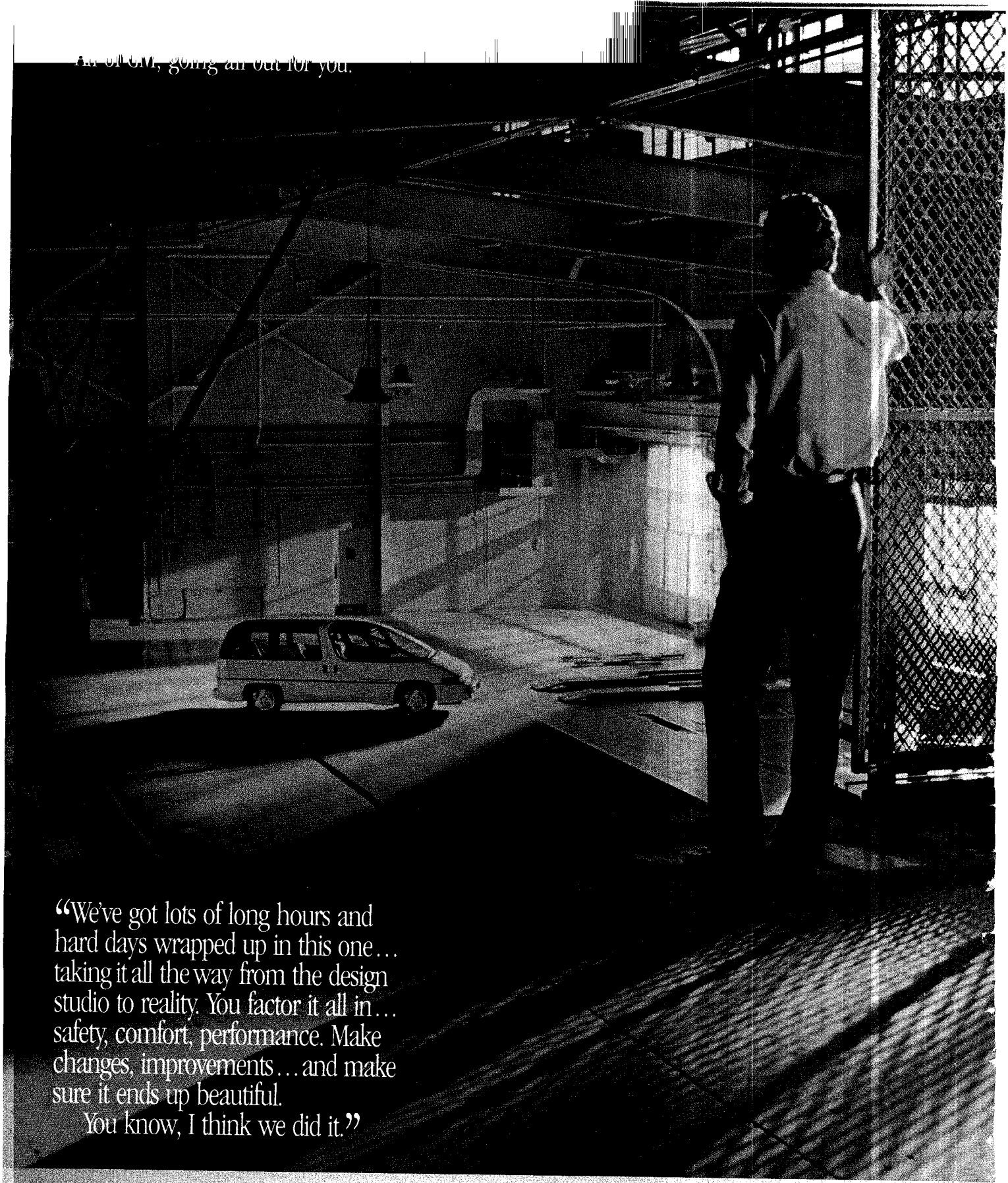

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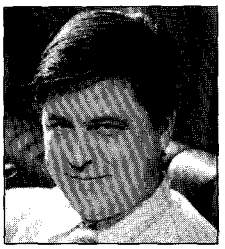
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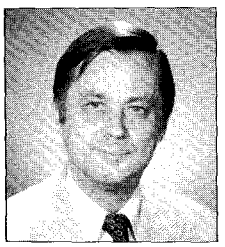
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AMERICAN BALLET THEATRE: (Top Left) Cynthia Harvey in LA BAYADERE. Photo by Gregory Heisler. (Right) Amy Rose in GAÎTE PARISIENNE. Photo by Martha Swope. (Bottom) Ross Stretton, Martine van Hamel, Kevin McKenzie in ÉTUDES. Photo by Martha Swope.

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LETTERS

A Typewriter's Not Enough

Despite the imminent crack-up of Communism, its apparatus is still firmly in place. As Mr. Grenier reports ["Have Typewriter, Will Run," March 24], with "more Soviet military advisors and diplomatic officials in Peru than in Nicaragua" and Shining Path guerrillas marauding the nation—fueled by the sale of half of all the cocaine consumed by Americans—Mario Vargas Llosa, if he does become president, may find holding off a guerrilla coup a very difficult task.

Peru's 1,200 miles of coastline may become a strategic bonanza for the Soviet navy. With such a threat, Vargas Llosa could not survive without foreign support (the U.S.!) to feed his people and to help the military hold off the Shining Path. But is the United States still in the business of fighting off Communism? The situation is a puzzle inside a dilemma: how can the U.S. Government effectively support one movement in a country when the American people, through their drug dollars, are heavily supporting the forces making its success virtually impossible?

Tanya Reese
Miami, Fla.

A Communist Reformation?

I hesitate to spoil the festive mood, but before the West gets too carried away celebrating "The Coming Crack-Up of Communism" [Jan. 27], I think we should see more evidence that the crack-up is indeed real. True, Marxist-Leninist *economic* techniques are moribund. But the success of Communism is not fully dependent upon its economic performance. Communism is a tenacious secular *faith*—a "fire in the minds of men," to quote Dostoyevsky.

Today a Communist reformation is afoot. The most thoughtful of the world's 88 million Communists are questioning—and rejecting—the old dogmas and creeds, but they are unlikely to abandon Lenin's eschatology so easily. As one young factory worker in France was recently quoted in the *New York Times*: "I couldn't think of not being a Communist. It's my life. I don't make an effort to be a Communist. I live it." Closer to home, America's best universities have tenured scholars who are eager to teach and apply the lessons of Marx and Lenin to current events. Meanwhile, those who consider themselves heirs to the Black Panthers are not at all chary of finding inspiration in Lenin, albeit in more subtle and sophisticated ways than their Sixties counterparts.

Nevertheless, it is tempting to see the current Communist reformation in the light of the sixteenth-century Protestant upheaval. Some interesting, if superficial, parallels emerge. For example, Luther enjoyed a meteoric and international reputation, as does Gorbachev. The big, bad Renaissance popes are played by Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev. The 95 Theses find their ideological counterpart in *perestroika*. The breakup of Roman Catholic Christendom into numerous Protestant sects parallels the disaffection of the Party faithful from Moscow's iron control. Significantly, the most zealous Protestant reformers were determined to recover the life and essence of the first-century Church: not unlike present-day Communists who are committed to recapturing the original intent of Marx and Lenin.

So long as Gorbachev can persuade fellow-travelers around the world that the ideals of the early Communists are noble and relevant in today's world—an endeavor in which he appears to be succeeding—the faith will live on. And it will challenge the West. Only when millions of erstwhile Communists thoroughly repudiate not just Marxism and Leninism, but Marx and Lenin, may we celebrate the "crack-up of Communism."

Gleaves Whitney
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Tito's Teetering Tale

Robert Conquest's editorial on the human carnage in the Soviet Union during Stalin's time ["Coming to Terms with the Past," "The Week," March 10] is a terrific indictment of Western scholarship: even today, when the Gorbachev regime is finally admitting to the mass murders of the past, there are still those within Western academia who continue to push the old Stalinist lies. According to Conquest, accurate estimates of the Soviet slaughter have been available for over forty years, but because the evidence most often came from "defectors, escapees, Poles, and others ill-affected to the regime," Western observers could maintain their denial.

By the same token, until Nora Beloff's

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book *Tito's Flawed Legacy* dared to expose Tito's brutality and vast extermination of opponents during and after the war, Western scholars and commentators on Yugoslavia were almost universally enamored of the Titoist state, taking Belgrade's flimsy propaganda and repackaging it into a form of pseudo-scholarship. Only recently, when the Tito legend began to disintegrate and when Yugoslavs themselves began to question their past, have these Western observers halted their utopian descriptions of the Yugoslav state.

Drage Vukcevich
Columbia, Md.

The Devil on Horseback

Stuart Goldman's autopsy of the degenerates who lead the rock 'n' roll epidemic raging among us (and nowhere more so than on TV) is a devastating exposé ["That Old Devil Music," Feb. 24]. The savagely monotonous, orgasmic "music" heretofore (mercifully) blotted out the alleged "lyrics"; Mr. Goldman's brief and nauseating examples drive home the celebrations of degradation being urged upon the young. God help us all: horniness is in the saddle, and perverts ride and teach the ever-concupiscent young.

Congratulations to Mr. Goldman for summoning the outrage to shout so searing an indictment; and thnaks to NATIONAL REVIEW for publishing so damning an exposé.

Leo Rosten
New York, N.Y.

Baseball, Big Macs, Liberal Wife

I found your "Social Climber's Guide" [Feb. 10] revealing and amusing. Widows like Pamela Harriman and Katharine Graham, who use the accomplishments—and the money—of their dead husbands to promote their own agenda, are not unusual. Joan Kroc, widow of Ray Kroc (McDonald's, San Diego Padres, etc.), is very supportive of many liberal interests. Ray was a conservative, and must roll over in his grave each time his money flows to support causes he opposed.

W. J. Provance
Oceanside, Calif.

A Rainbow of Thought

It would be interesting to know where Ernest van den Haag got the idea that *Chronicles* is a "Paleoconservative" magazine ["The War between Paleos and Neos," Feb. 24]. We do, of course, publish such old-school conservatives as Russell Kirk, Thomas Molnar, and M. E. Bradford, but the magazine is also open to a wide political spectrum that includes Neoconservatives, liberals, and even leftists. The essential criteria are intelligence, integrity, and the ability to write. These qualities are not restricted to the Old Right, and we at *Chronicles* are proud of our record of publishing important writers who do not belong to any conservative sect. It is a very long list that includes novelists like George Garrett; poets like Octavio Paz, X. J. Kennedy, and Fred Chappell; philosophers like Josef Pieper, Stephen Clark, and John Gray; as well as E. O. Wilson, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Frederick Turner, V. S. Naipaul, and Richard Lamm. "Paleoconservatives" are evidently a remarkable bunch. Mr. van den Haag's blithe assurance about a magazine he apparently does not read should lead his readers to question the reliability of the rest of his polemic.

Thomas Fleming
Editor, Chronicles
Rockford, Ill.

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FOR THE RECORD

Winners & Losers: To **Evans & Novak**, it's clear, **Sam Nunn** was the big winner in **Tower** affair, President **George Bush** the loser. Nunn got what he wanted, they say, a controlling voice in defense policy. . . . Not so, say columnists **Pat Buchanan** (Nunn was "the net loser") and *The New Republic*'s **Fred Barnes** ("The myth of Sam Nunn as being nonpartisan has been shattered forever"). . . . A **Knight-Ridder** story quotes an unnamed GOP Senate aide: "There are no Republican members of the Senate Armed Services Committee and their staffs that will ever again trust Sam Nunn or his staff." . . . In fact, Sam Nunn, every conservative's once favorite Democrat, has been edging left for years. Consider: His latest ACU rating is 23, whereas it was 73 five years ago; AFL-CIO COPE, 100 per cent today, 45 five years ago; ADA, 55 today, 35 five years ago. . . . Comments Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.): "There are no Boll Weevils any more." . . . On plus side, *Washington Post*'s **David Broder** waxes lyrical over **Richard Cheney**'s qualifications as SecDef, says that by choosing Cheney "Bush has completed what may well be the most skilled, politically sophisticated trio of national-security officials Washington has seen in decades" (Cheney, plus **Baker** at State, **Scowcroft** at NSC). . . . In speech written for AEI before his nomination, Cheney attacked "congressional aggrandizement" in national-security affairs and tagged the War Powers Act as "unworkable and of dubious constitutionality." He supports SDI.

Way, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

"Class, this is not good enough. Even the PLO recognizes Israel now."

It's Donnybrook time in Virginia, where former GOP Sen. **Paul Trible** finds himself in trouble with his own party. A number of big players in **Reagan** Administration have thrown their support in June gubernatorial primary to **Marshall Coleman** rather than to Trible. Says former White House Special Assistant **William Bradford Reynolds**, Trible is a "quitter" for retiring last year rather than face uphill race against Democratic Gov. **Charles Robb**. Also against Trible: former NSC head **Richard V. Allen** and Virginia National Republican Committeeman **Morton C. Blackwell**. . . . Early polls had Trible leading Coleman. Winner will face Lt. Gov. **Doug Wilder**, a black politician who has Robb's backing. . . . In Colorado, Rep. **Hank Brown** (R.) was first to throw hat in ring to succeed retiring conservative Sen. **Bill Armstrong**. Brown, says *Congressional Quarterly*, is "a moderate Republican by Colorado standards," which is to say his ACA rating is a meager 77, his ADA rating a soaring 16. . . . A *Minnesota Star Tribune* hypothetical match-up, incumbent Sen. **Rudy Boschwitz** *v.* **Walter Mondale**, shows Mondale—who has not said he'll run—leading Boschwitz by seven points. . . . It's not so surprising that Rep. **Joseph Kennedy** has pulled out of Massachusetts gubernatorial race: polls showed him trailing little-known Lt. Gov. **Evelyn Murphy** by a fraction. . . . In New York City, pros are stunned that high-pressure Republican strategist **Eddie Mahe** will be planning mayoral primary campaign of dark horse NYU Prof. **Herb London**. Better-known GOP candidates are former Amb. **Ron Lauder** and former U.S. Attorney **Rudolph Giuliani**. . . . Connecticut ex-Sen. **Lowell Weicker** will be **George Washington U.**'s first "Congressional Professor."

Communist *People's Daily World* claims Nicaraguan President **Daniel Ortega** told Spanish news agency EFE that he has "no objection to humanitarian aid to the Contras providing they stay out of Nicaragua." (Maybe that should be leaked to **Jim Wright**.) . . . A December poll in Managua's independent *La Crónica* found popular support for Sandinistas at 31 per cent, down from 67 per cent five years ago. Nearly half the Nicaraguans questioned (49 per cent) said they'd leave the country if they could. . . . **Vladimir Bukovsky**'s American Foundation for Resistance International suggests that since Washington has okayed a human-rights conference in Moscow in 1991, such conferences might, in subsequent years, appropriately be held in the **Katyn Forest**, the **Kolyma Siberian Gulag**, and the **Perm 35 Special Regimen Labor Camp**. . . . Soviet historian **Nikolai Popov**, writing in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* March 1, acknowledged that **Stalin** and his terror policies were responsible for the cold war. Heretofore the Soviet position has been that the West initiated the cold war. . . . Gen. **James Galvin**, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, warns against dropping our guard. Since **Gorbachev** took office, he says, the Soviet Union has fielded more tanks and artillery pieces than "currently exist in the combined armies of Britain, France, and West Germany." . . . West German Economic Minister **Helmut Hanssmann** has canceled a scheduled visit to East Germany to protest recent shootings at the Wall in which one East German was killed and at least one other wounded.

Self-styled **Dante** scholar **Vincenzo Strocchi** was arrested for allegedly threatening to blow up Dante's tomb because Dante committed lèse-majesté 650 years ago by placing the prophet **Mohammed** in the eighth circle of hell. It was a joke, said Strocchi.

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THE WEEK

☐ "The Foreign Service," writes Perry Shankle, president of the American Foreign Service Association, in a letter to the editor in *Newsweek*, "will serve this Secretary of State as loyally as it has past secretaries." We feared as much.

☐ We don't know whether George Bush made a brilliant move or simply lucked out with the nomination of Richard Cheney. Questions linger about the failure of Bush or his aides to understand the depth of Senate resistance to Tower. Cheney, who is *more* conservative than Tower, is expected to win confirmation more or less unanimously. He has been steady in support of the Contras, firmer than Tower on SDI, and has the record of a smart, principled conservative. He fulfills even the new moral standards of 1989, and has been happily married for years to the admirable Lynn Cheney, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Welcome aboard.

☐ The job of a Labor Secretary should be jobs. But it sometimes turns out to be labor with a capital "L," meaning those who have good jobs using the government to keep new competition out of the labor market. It thus came as a disappointment that Secretary Elizabeth Dole's first moves have been to argue *how much* the minimum wage should be increased, rather than taking a firm stand against the whole nefarious idea. After all, if the government could somehow make inexperienced workers more valuable with a mere wave of the "minimum-wage" wand, then we might as well make it a felony to hire anyone for less than $10 an hour, or $100, or $1,000. The reality, of course, is that organized labor wants to keep the minimum wage high to ensure that those who are too young or too old, or immigrants facing a language barrier, are effectively prevented from competing for work. This is nasty business—greasing the first rung of the ladder of opportunity. Whenever a truly principled government takes a firm stand, refusing to compromise with such brutality, it always gains the upper hand. For evidence, witness the enlightenment of the National Economic Commission after President Bush took a firm stand against new taxes. Since Mrs. Dole caved so easily on making it illegal to offer jobs to poor people, we can only hope she shows a bit more courage against even more absurd notions, such as "comparable worth."

☐ Is anybody willing to bet that our Honorable Solons, so deeply concerned with the ethics of President Bush's appointees, will now feel obliged to repay the "campaign contributions" they took from those failing or busted Savings & Loan companies?

☐ Rhode Island's Supreme Court has upheld a lower court's ruling that a divorced woman may not have a male guest overnight while her children are present. Carla Parrillo, 33, has three children, ages ten to 15. When she kept a lover with her several nights a week, the children's father took violent exception, in the form of a crowbar to the guest's car. He also cut the grocery money, on the grounds that he shouldn't have to feed an extra mouth. Mrs. Parrillo tried to have him found in contempt of court. Instead, the judge issued the order saying she'd have to keep her boyfriends out. She appealed, and lost, but not before the ACLU had jumped into bed with her, so to speak, on the grounds that her constitutional right to privacy was at stake. The State Supreme Court wisely rejected this unilateral version of privacy. But Mr. Parrillo should hang on to that crowbar, in case the ACLU takes the matter up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

☐ There's good news from . . . Harvard! For years its once-proud law school has been split asunder by a faction of Marxoid professors calling themselves proponents of Critical Legal Studies. In their view, all current law is an instrument of capitalist repression,

Bush Recovers the Ball

Though the FBI's not done,
Bush got on the horn with Nunn;
Then he stroked the Beltway press,
Which found Cheney blemishless.
Democrats will wave him through
With a clubby interview—
Barring episodes of pool
When he entered grammar school.

W. H. von Dreele

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and so they "deconstruct" it. Even their own bailiwick is not exempt from deconstruction: in a Maoist vein, they want professors and janitors to exchange posts every six months. Not surprisingly, law professors have been fleeing to other institutions, and Harvard Law's prestige has plummeted. When, not long ago, a top legal scholar was offered a job there, he is reported to have laughed out loud. Law School Dean Paul Bator recently escaped to the University of Chicago, and Harvard's President Derek Bok has opted for institutional survival by appointing Robert Clark to replace him. Clark has excoriated the Crits as enemies of the West and of freedom—and of Harvard Law. Because of them, he says, "the scholarly eminence per person at Harvard is seriously below that at several competing law schools."

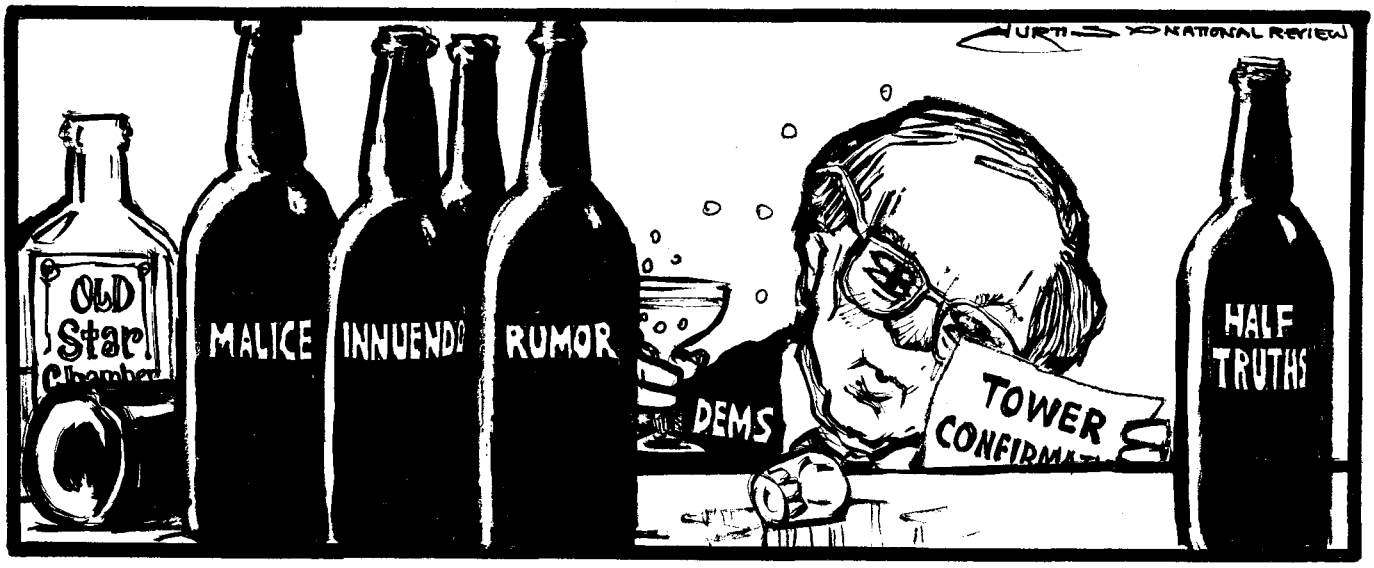
☐ Undaunted by recent legal and media adversity, Dartmouth College is facing a further leftist initiative. After a decision was made to increase the student body by two hundred students, the Dean of Faculty, Dwight Lahr, proposed that when new faculty is hired to accommodate them, minority faculty should be hired first, and without regard to departmental need. That is to say, minority status (and Lahr, who is black, was not talking about Asians) would be a primary consideration in Dartmouth's academic hiring. Dean Lahr replied to criticism by saying that his proposal is nothing more than an explicit avowal of the policy of "affirmative action," or in other words reverse discrimination. The likely prospect at the "new" and racist Dartmouth is that Lahr's proposal will be publicly repudiated, but quietly implemented.

☐ Guess what: the First Amendment protects even the Pope. A Washington, D.C., Superior Court judge has ruled that Catholic University was within its rights in stripping Father Charles Curran, the Hefnerite moral theologian, of his tenure in its theology department. Curran, now at USC, says he won't appeal the ruling, though it leaves him "saddened." Why should he be sad? John Paul II and likeminded people get to keep control of their own church. Father Curran remains free to start one of his own. Be happy, everybody!

☐ Poland is rattling the bars of its cage, the government forced by economic and popular pressure to recognize the opposition. There appears little doubt that in an honest election Lech Walesa would receive virtually a unanimous vote. Against that background, the accusation by the Polish government that Soviet forces slaughtered four thousand Polish officers in the Katyn Forest in 1945 must be understood as a political move, a symbolic declaration of further independence from the Soviets. Gorbachev's policy is apparently to permit this sort of thing, even while tightening economic relations with the satellites. In the unfolding situation, extreme wariness is called for [see also "Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1994?" p. 24]. But it begins to look as if, sometime in the early twenty-first century, the Soviet empire will be best described by the poem about the one-hoss shay.

☐ NEVER LOOKED AT IT THAT WAY DEPT. That reliable chip-off-the-Soviet-bloc Alexander Cockburn, writing in *The Nation*, is, to our knowledge, the first to raise the following question: Why, amid all the protests on behalf of Salman Rushdie, hasn't "a single women's organization" spoken out about "likely reprisals against the freedoms won by Afghan women in recent years?" On the other hand, Cockburn doesn't seem to worry about Afghan women who may step on the millions of land mines the feminist troops have left behind.

☐ In the basement of the Rayburn House Office Building, under lock and key, there hangs a painting by Bruegel. It's called *The Portrait of Dorian Wright*. An



Drinking Problem

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interpretation in prose will be provided by the House ethics committee. Dorian Wright would be smart to get him to a Nunnery.

☐ Rumor fingers Pepsi-détentist Donald Kendall as the next American ambassador to Moscow. Still to be decided: Who will be American ambassador to Kendall?

☐ Florida State University has four jets available for recruiting and earns $10 million from football and basketball, not to mention $5 million in donations from sports boosters. You were wondering about its Latin program?

Crashing Eastern

PUSHING EASTERN AIRLINES toward bankruptcy, after first trying to hold the public up for ransom, may not seem like the cleverest union strategy. After all, the owner of Eastern, Frank Lorenzo, also has a more successful non-union airline, Continental, which covers some similar routes. He may well be quite content to sell off Eastern in bits and pieces, since no sensible investor would want to buy the whole airline without replacing its current crop of union saboteurs with younger and cheaper employees.

Every time an airline changes owners or names, union spokesmen, including those posing as congressmen, seize the opportunity to argue in favor of re-regulating airfares and routes. One argument is that the industry is supposedly becoming less competitive, which is shameless since the whole objective of re-regulation is to make competition a criminal offense. Texas Air's acquisition of Eastern and Continental was a case of a little fish swallowing the big, and it looks as though Eastern will now be spun off in some way (even if the company name disappeared, the airplanes would not go to waste). But even as part of the same company, Continental and Eastern have nonetheless competed for customers. New York travelers could take the Continental shuttle out of Newark or the Eastern or Pan Am shuttle out of LaGuardia. That sort of competition meant that Eastern could not possibly charge much higher fares than Continental, and therefore could not possibly pay its workers more. No amount of union sabotage could change that reality. As long as Continental has no trouble attracting and retaining employees, then their salaries and benefits are competitive. And union workers can't do much better than non-union workers so long as the industry itself is competitive, because competitive airlines can't simply keep boosting fares in order to pay premium salaries.

When the airline business was a federally enforced cartel, there was none of this messy competition. Few people had heard of Texas Air, since routes were assigned to established companies. No airline went out of business, no matter how bad its service, and new airlines were not allowed into the cozy club. In the few cases where travelers had any choice of carriers, competition took the form of heavy advertising and a wasteful race to see who could fly the largest empty airplanes most often. Top executives, who never pay their own travel expenses, may look back at airline regulation with nostalgia. Flights were not crowded with noisy children, or riffraff in blue jeans, for the simple reason that airfares were formidable. In countries where regulated monopolies still control the air-travel business, such as Australia, air fares per mile are still two or three times as high as they are in the United States. Airline unions will surely keep supplying fatuous propaganda in favor of re-regulating the airlines, in the hope that they would thereby be enabled to siphon off most of the monopoly profit. But it is travelers, not employers, who would have to pay that bill.

Bring On the Accused

As Tower's carried from the field,
Wright nervously adjusts his shield,
While House Republicans compile
Those higher standards so in style
In Senate circles, where a clique
Left C-Span steaming just last week.

W. H. VON DREELE

Newt Gingrich for Whip

THE RESIGNATION of Representative Dick Cheney from the House of Representatives in order to preside over the Pentagon Temperance Union gives House Republicans a great opportunity. Wherever Mr. Cheney goes, he will serve the Republic with distinction. But his vacating the position of the Republican Whip in the House gives Republicans there the enviable opportunity of voting into that position Congressman Newt Gingrich of Georgia.

Few who have experienced this talented, street-wise PhD who has served in the House for five terms will question his talent and originality. No one will question his energy. He irradiates energy, rather like the sun, and there is zero ozone layer between him and speaker Jim Wright, whose progressively deteriorating situation is the result of Newt Gingrich's insistence that if there is to be ethical conduct by members of the House of Representatives, there ought also to be ethical conduct by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

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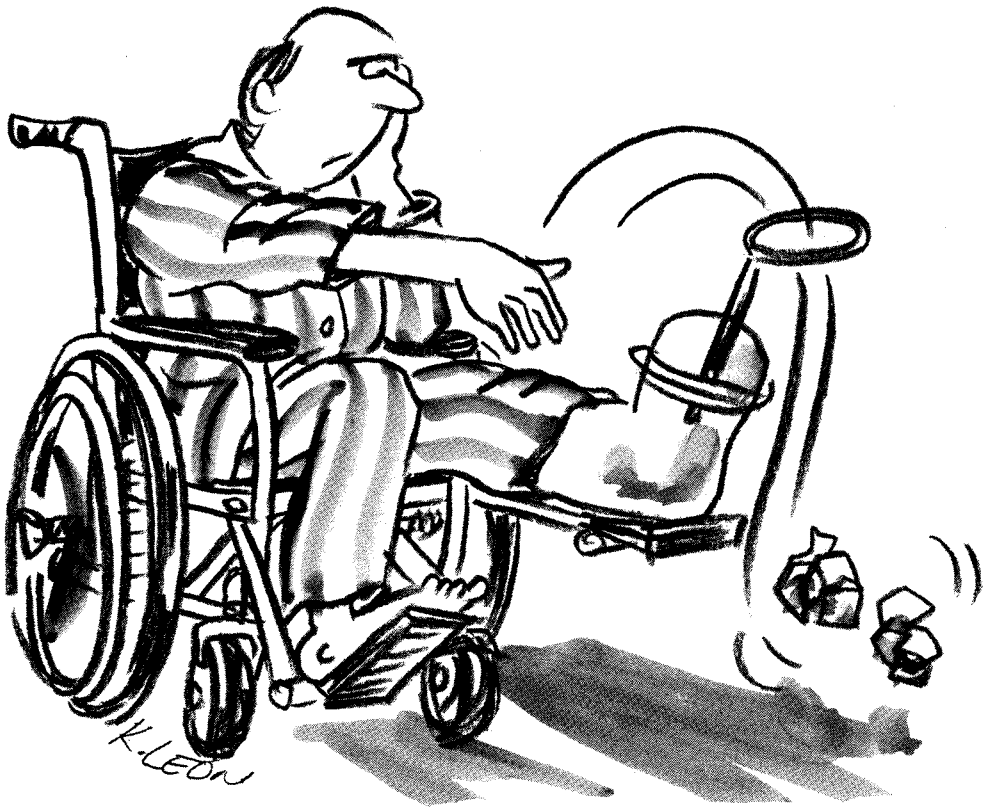
What would several months in this position do to your financial position?



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There is this outstanding quality in Gingrich, which is that he does not wish to serve as Minority Whip for the rest of his life. He wants to give the House an opportunity to be organized by a Republican majority. To this end, more resourcefully than anyone else whose name comes to mind, he is willing and anxious to work day and night, exploring Democratic techniques for effecting political longevity, shredding the artificial barriers that have been erected to thwart the will of the voters. Newt Gingrich wants to serve his constituency, as congressmen do: but he wants most anxiously to help bring to the Republic refreshing reforms, conservative in spirit, that spring from unfettered thought, animated by lively analysis and activity—and this makes him a very heavy asset for the Republicans. Let us hope that by the time these words are read, he will have been elected to the second highest position among House Republicans.

The Reagan Difference

THE REJECTION of John Tower offers several lessons that we hope the Bush Administration will be wise enough to discern. The main one is that the President's strategy of de-ideologizing political differences is a loser.

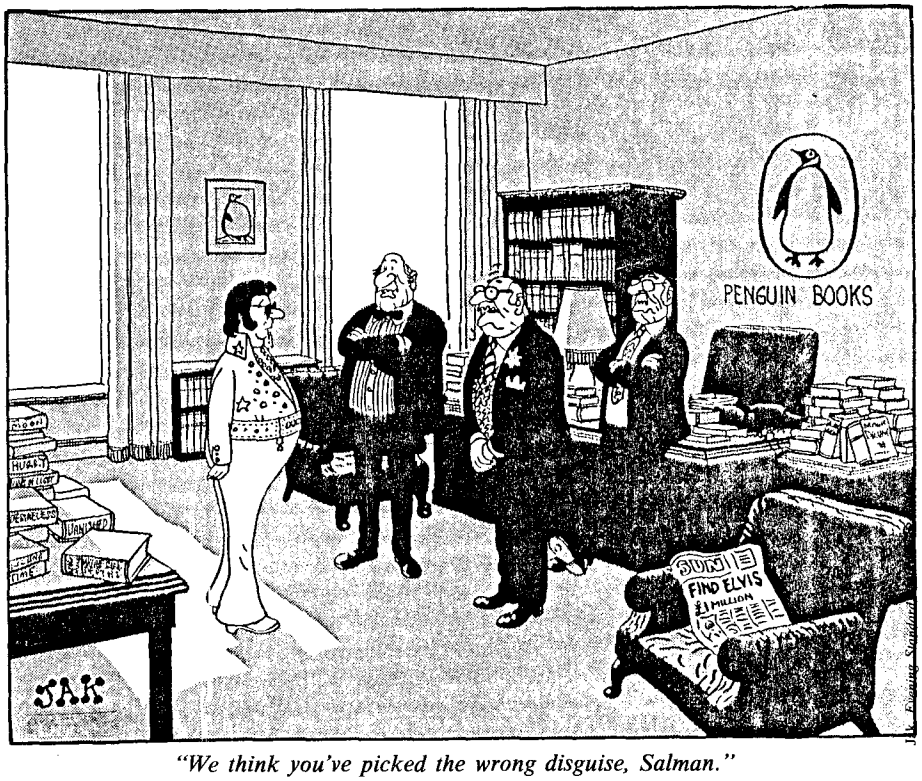
Like Ronald Reagan, George Bush began his Presidency with a lot of neighborly talk about "bipartisan cooperation." The difference is that in Reagan's case, this meant getting Democrats to cooperate with *him*, not yielding to the Democrats. For most of his first term Reagan was able to induce a critical number of Democrats in the House (the Senate was—ah, remember?—Republican-controlled) to come across to his side on tax cuts and foreign-policy issues.

Bush has proven stubborn, but nevertheless ineffectual. The hand of friendship he extended to the Democrats was chomped off at the elbow. Washington is Power City, where niceness without strength is understood as weakness.

The Tower fight was a purely partisan battle. Ideology played almost no role in it. Liberal pundits, in fact, expressed deep skittishness about the Democrats' hypocritical employment of such a reactionary criterion as personal morality for a Cabinet confirmation: that one could come back to haunt not only Democrats but liberals everywhere. Tower's sins were what liberals used to call "victimless crimes": sex and drugs.

The Republicans, it must be said, played their hand very badly, making a sort of *tour de faiblesse* of what might have been a dignified defeat. Tower himself offered to give up alcohol (though not women); Bob Dole made a desperate last-minute proposal to give Tower an unprecedented six-month probationary term. The President himself, meanwhile, was acting supinely bipartisan on another front, pressuring Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to approve a Democrat-sponsored bill to protect whistle-blowers within the Executive Branch—a bill Thornburgh actually thought unconstitutional. (Reagan vetoed a weaker version of it last year.) So the Tower gangbang has cost the Democrats nothing at Bush's hands.

Kinder, gentler, bipartisan, ethical: George Bush's message to the Democrats seems to be: "Look, guys, I'm not Reagan!" They're glad to hear it, all right. They remember Reagan. He radiated the most powerful symbolism since Franklin Roosevelt. That was how he so often forced the Democrats to go along with him. He appealed directly to America's visceral conservatism, and millions felt that his victories and losses were theirs too.



"We think you've picked the wrong disguise, Salman."

That's the secret of presidential success—especially for a Republican pitted against a Democratic Congress. When Richard Nixon, resigning, explained that his political base was gone, the Democrats were outraged: they had expected an act of contrition. But Nixon was exactly right: few voters identified him with any cause or principle they cared about; as a result, few had a personal interest in his fate.

So it is, thus far, with George Bush. He has established himself as the generic nice guy. But he hasn't given the people who elected him much reason to care whether the

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Raise Money, Not Taxes

HERE, IN NO particular order, are a few ways the Federal Government can raise revenues without raising taxes:

1. *Crack down on loan deadbeats.* As of September 30, 1987, the Federal Government was owed $339 billion, of which $32.1 billion was delinquent agricultural, housing, and assorted other loans. This represents a 24 per cent increase in current receivables and a 108 per cent increase in delinquencies since the end of fiscal 1982. As a "lender of last resort," the government is often obliged to make loans that would never have been approved by private financial institutions (indeed, the inability to secure private financing is often a prerequisite for federal-loan approval). Even so, the Grace Commission estimates that more aggressive debt collection by federal lending agencies could cut delinquencies by 25 per cent within three years, bringing in an additional $8 billion.

2. *Sell Amtrak.* Despite fare increases and a successful cost-cutting effort since 1981, passenger fares cover only two-thirds of Amtrak's costs; on some long-distance lines, the per-passenger subsidy exceeds the cost of a plane ticket. Selling the economically profitable portions of the rail system (primarily the Northeast-corridor routes) could reportedly fetch $1 billion, while phasing out the remainder of the system would relieve taxpayers of an ongoing subsidy ($597 million in 1987). A successful privatization would also increase federal tax revenues: in the six months ended June 30, 1988, Conrail (sold last year to a private railroad for $1.6 billion) paid $87 million in corporate taxes. A possible Amtrak buyer: its management and employees.

3. *Privatize the Postal Service.* Since 1970 the cost of a first-class stamp has outpaced the Consumer Price Index by 30 per cent, yet the Postal Service has needed more than $28 billion in federal subsidies to break even. Employee wages and fringes account for 85 cents of every dollar spent by the Postal Service, leaving little for capital improvements. Nevertheless, the Postal Service *could* become profitable if it were allowed to enter new lines of business (electronic mail, for example) and if private companies were allowed to offer alternative first-class mail service, thereby forcing the federal service to operate under the discipline of competition rather than as a protected monopoly. Largely because of its extensive real-estate holdings, the net worth of this enterprise is about $13 billion, according to a Reason Foundation study. A public stock offering *à la* British Telecom or Nippon Telegraph would allow millions of Americans to own a part of what would then be one of America's largest corporations (annual sales of $30 billion).

—ED RUBENSTEIN

Democrats frustrate his agenda. The very ideology Bush wants to dispense with was the source of Reagan's power in dealing with Congress.

A White House Promise

MANY BABIES born with spina bifida—an exposed spine—grow up to lead normal lives. Some lead lives of extraordinary achievement—Orel Hershiser of the Los Angeles Dodgers, for one.

Enter the Bush Administration and a Mr. Robert Fulton, who is being considered for the post of assistant secretary of Health and Human Services. Mr. Fulton apparently had some definite views about spina-bifida babies when he was director of the Oklahoma Department of Human Services.

As director, he had oversight of Oklahoma Children's Memorial Hospital, where, between 1977 and 1982, doctors conducted a euthanasia research project of some interest. Half the spina-bifida babies were treated and half were not. Twenty-four of the latter, predictably, died painful deaths. The doctors seemed rather pleased with what they had done, going on to write it up for the journal *Pediatrics*. They reported that the "babies died at between one and 189 days" of age, probably from "respiratory-tract difficulties, combined with an acute infectious process." They noted that some people might raise ethical questions, but "the conclusive justification for selection in spina-bifida cases appears to be the documented suffering that is not only reduced but prevented, if one is persuaded that death is preferable to life under certain circumstances." The decision about which babies should live and which should die was guided by a mathematical equation, QL = NE × (H+ S) ("quality of life" is determined by multiplying the "patient's natural endowment, both physical and intellectual," by the sum of the "contribution from home, family, and society"). Not surprisingly, poor children tended to get slated for death.

The Oklahoma program was exposed by Pulitzer

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Big Labor's Final Approach

What Gompers begot and John Lewis unsheathed
While Meany wore knickers and Reuther still teethed
Will, like a volcano that covered a town,
Belch, bubble, and simmer before shutting down.

W. H. VON DREELE

Prize-winning journalist Carlton Sherwood in a documentary on CNN and in a series of articles in the *Washington Times*. In the course of his investigations, Sherwood discussed the program at length with Fulton, who initially expressed surprise and outrage, promising a thorough investigation. According to Sherwood, he then proceeded to engineer a coverup and to this day "defends a euthanasia program that has been roundly condemned by every medical authority in the country."

If he becomes assistant secretary, Robert Fulton will be working under Secretary Louis Sullivan. Dr. Sullivan, it will be remembered, appeared to be in an awful muddle about his views on legal protection for the unborn and the use of aborted babies for experimental and other purposes. After rigorous coaching, he finally got his lines down for the Senate hearings and was confirmed. Dr. Sullivan was confirmed in very large part because the White House promised that he would be surrounded by key subordinates who have no doubt that, with respect to the unborn and the handicapped, life is preferable to death. The consideration of Robert Fulton for assistant secretary seems a very odd way to keep a promise. We must pray that he drinks, chases women, and has a lucrative consultancy.

Toward a More Perfect Senate

REBUTTING THE charge that they'd applied a double standard to John Tower, Senate Democrats explained that it was their job to judge Tower as a nominee, whereas they themselves are subject to the judgment of the voters.

An excellent point. But of course the people, like the Senate, need the facts. The Senate had access to FBI reports on Tower's behavior. The people have no similar corpus of information about their senators. This must be remedied.

A step in the right direction was taken by the *Washington Times*, which published a brief compilation of recent sexual scandals involving members of the Senate. Subjects included Don Riegle of Michigan, Brock Adams of Washington, and the inevitable Massachusettsian, whom a waitress in a posh Washington restaurant, wandering into what she thought was an empty private dining room, found on top of an unidentified woman on the floor thereof.

A special investigator, armed with the power of subpoena, could ventilate this neglected dimension of the World's Greatest Deliberative Body. Who *are* these men who shape our public morals? What axes do they have to grind? What self-interest may they be promoting when they vote on abortion and gay rights? How do they stand to benefit from the standards they impose on others? Why do they so often exempt themselves? The American public needs to know.

When in Rome

AS USUAL, the bravado of the American bishops vanished in the presence of the Pope, and they behaved like a bunch of choirboys. By the end of the four-day conference, the Vatican had made it clear that the American wing of the hierarchy hasn't been pulling its share of the load.

At times the American bishops seem more interested in challenging authority than in exercising it. For one thing, upholding Catholic doctrine is a pretty thankless job, whereas defying the Vatican ensures favorable media attention.

So, for the hundredth time, Cardinal Ratzinger explained the uncongenial facts of life: sometimes "it is necessary to risk being unpopular," and "those who announce the Gospel must also be martyrs, in the most profound sense of the word." The American Church has become lax on sexual morality and ritual matters and has, in some respects, capitulated to "ideological feminism."

The American bishops responded with vague appeals to "American culture," which is democratic and individualistic and therefore inhospitable to religious authority. Don't you see, they say in effect, in America it's not *popular* to be unpopular! ("This is a hard saying; who can accept it?")

It's predictable that most of the American bishops will shrug off the Vatican's mild chastisement and return to business as usual, like a pillow resuming its shape after being punched. If Rome means to keep preaching the hard features of Catholic doctrine, it will probably have to do so on its own.

Norris Cotton, RIP

THE PASSING OF New Hampshire's former Senator Norris Cotton reminds us of the high quality of that state's officeholders in recent years. New Hampshire's political honor roll includes Senators Humphrey (who is not seeking a third term) and Rudman, Congressmen Cleveland, Gregg, Smith, and Douglas, and Governors Thomson and Sununu. The contrast between New Hampshire (where Governor Thomson's

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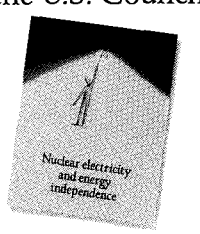

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policy—embraced by his successors—of no state income tax fueled an economic boom) and Massachusetts represents an embarrassment for the latter.

Norris Cotton was the rock-hard foundation of this New Hampshire brand of modern conservative Republicanism. He had attended Exeter and Wesleyan, and won a seat in the state legislature in 1923. He went on to the House of Representatives and the Senate, retiring in 1975.

In his later years he was an immensely popular figure in western New Hampshire, holding regular court over lunch in a fine local restaurant, which named a banquet room after him. His wisdom was widely sought, his anecdotes colorful, and his humor infectious. He cheerfully joined the advisory board of *The Dartmouth Review*. He lived in the small town of Lebanon, where he was the town patriarch, and where he died peacefully at eighty-eight.

Irving Brown, RIP

IT MAY NOT BE an exaggeration to say that men and women walking the streets of Ravenna, Brest, Liverpool, and Hamburg today do so a little more safely because of a man they never heard of—Irving Brown.

Back in 1945, with Western Europe pulling out of the devastation of World War II, the Communists moved to take over the powerful industrial unions of France and Italy, and to increase their hold on unions in Britain and West Germany. French Communists had emerged from the Résistance as national heroes, as had Italian Communist partisans who had fought both Mussolini and Hitler. The Communists were united, dedicated, and ruthless. They took their orders from Moscow. Stalin had recently set up one of his dummy corporations, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), through which he hoped to dominate the workforce of the industrial West.

It didn't work out that way. American union leaders who had fought bitterly to prevent a Communist takeover of the American labor movement in the Twenties, Thirties, and Forties recognized the danger and moved to counter it (with, let it be said, the aid of the CIA). Its point men in the field were an experienced AFL-CIO hand, Irving Brown, and his partner, Jay Lovestone, former head of the CPUSA, who understood as few others the mechanics of the Communist enterprise.

They set up an office in Paris and, working (mostly) through the then-weak Socialist unions in France, Italy, Britain, and Germany, fought the Communists to a standstill. For years the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which they founded, battled the WFTU, and won. Today no union that pretends to be free belongs to the WFTU. A wiser Stalin might have let Trotsky live out his days in exile and gone after Irving Brown instead.

Brown battled for free trade-unionism to the end. Backed by Lane Kirkland and the hard anti-Communists who continue to run the AFL-CIO, he helped to orchestrate an operation that gave Lech Walesa the material support he needed. It was in part because of this support that Solidarity went as far as it did, and has lasted as long as it has.

A year ago, when the cancer that would kill Irving Brown had immobilized him, Ronald Reagan conferred on him, in absentia, the Medal of Freedom.

NOTES & ASIDES

John Kreuttner, RIP

WE LEARN most belatedly of the death from cancer of John Kreuttner last April.

Mr. Kreuttner will be remembered by early readers of NATIONAL REVIEW for his dyspeptically brilliant cartoons, mordant concatenations of lines and whorls and text that especially targeted Dwight Eisenhower and Earl Warren. John Kreuttner was by profession an architect. He was a Southerner of mild manners and fustian opinion who became a casualty of John Birchism, by which we mean that his rage carried him to such extravagant reaches as to make him uncomfortable in association with anyone who did not go that last, neurotic mile along with him. So that, after NATIONAL REVIEW's second sustained attack on the John Birch Society, he severed his relations with us. Indeed, he stopped drawing cartoons altogether, and we would see him, here and there in New York, on extraordinary occasions, always polite, and a little distant.

We publish two pages of his work (pp. 20-21) to remind our readers, and ourselves, of the major talent that expressed himself regularly in these pages for ten years.

And we extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Jane. **—WFB**

"I got my job through the New York Times!"

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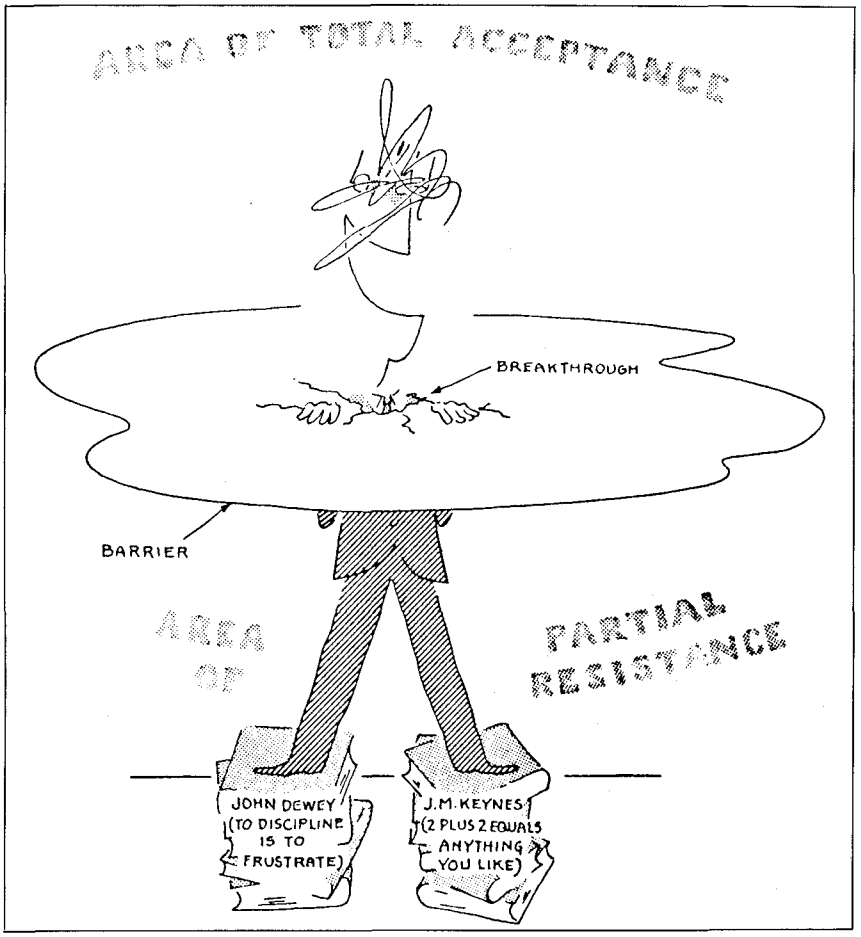
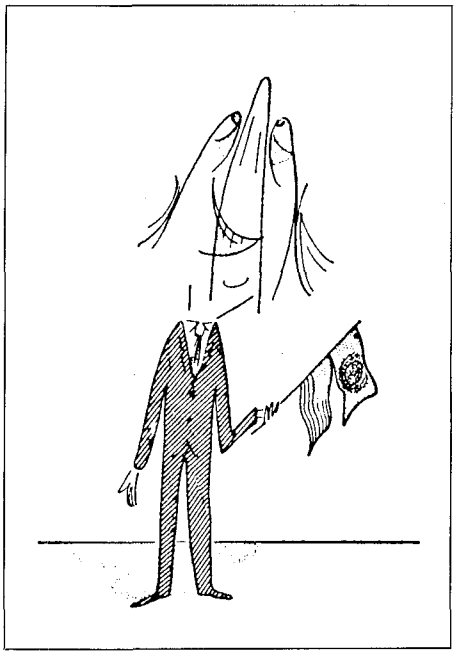
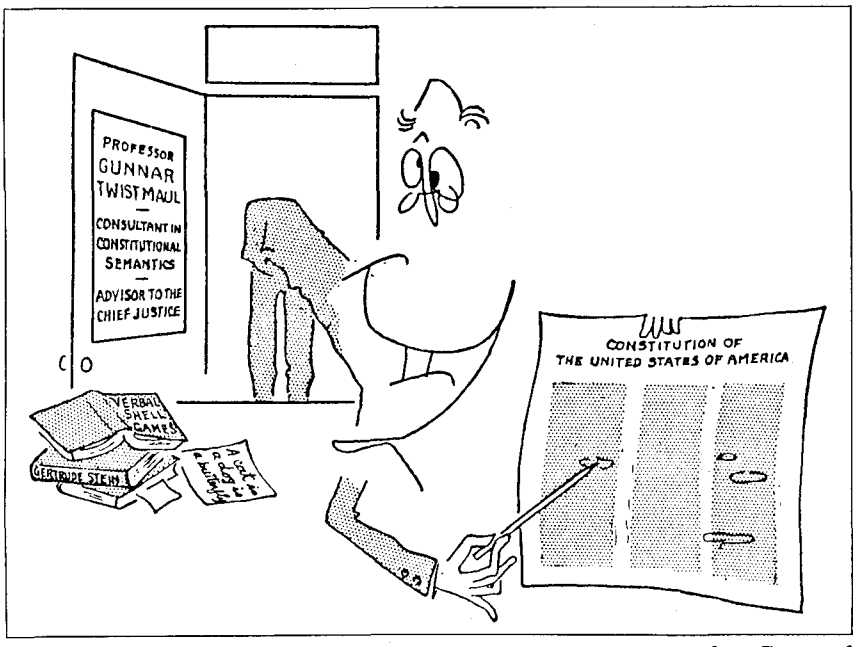
JOHN KREUTTNER'S WORLD



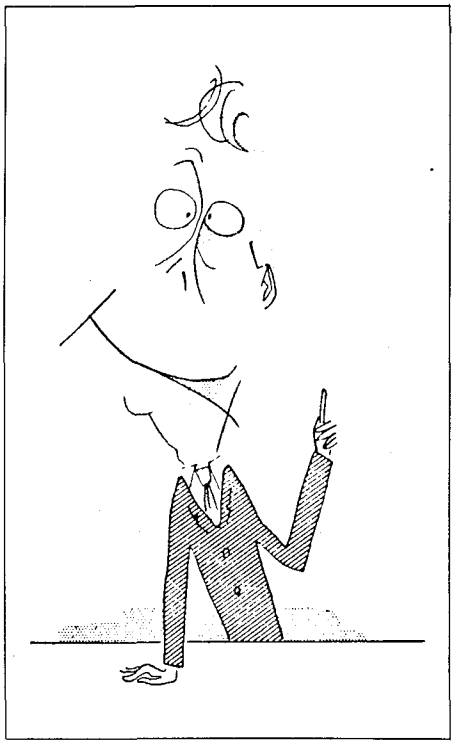
"Ask me anything, but make your question complex, so that my answer can be inconclusive. I'm so intellectual I can't understand simple sentences."



"You don't get the point. Legislative encroachment on executive and judicial powers is Demagoguery. Executive and judicial encroachment on congressional powers is Protection against Legislative Tyranny."


PROFESSOR GUNNAR TWISTMAUL
CONSULTANT IN CONSTITUTIONAL SEMANTICS
ADVISOR TO THE CHIEF JUSTICE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
VERBAL SHELL GAMES
GERTRUDE STEIN

"We feel that it might be amusing to retain certain portions of it. Some of its phraseology has a quaint merit."



"In repudiating the lessons of history the most important thing we crackpots must bear in mind is that charity begins abroad."

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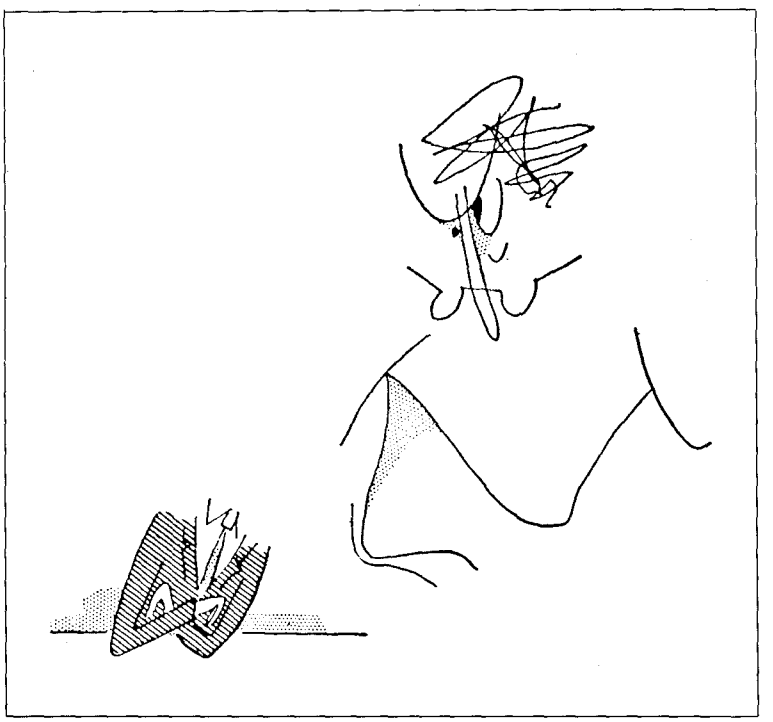
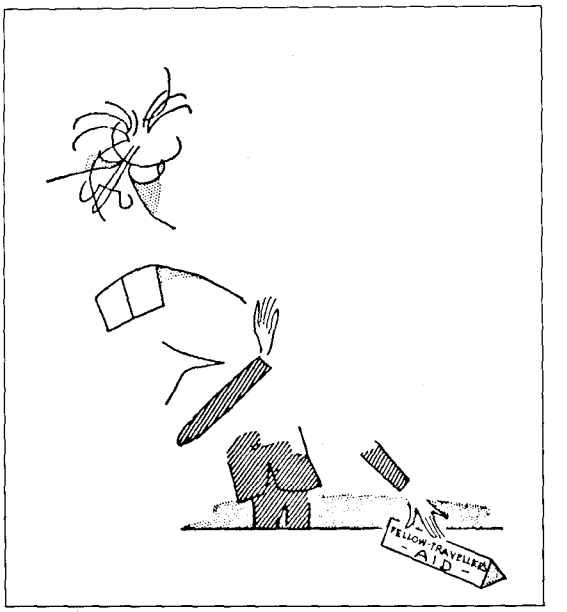
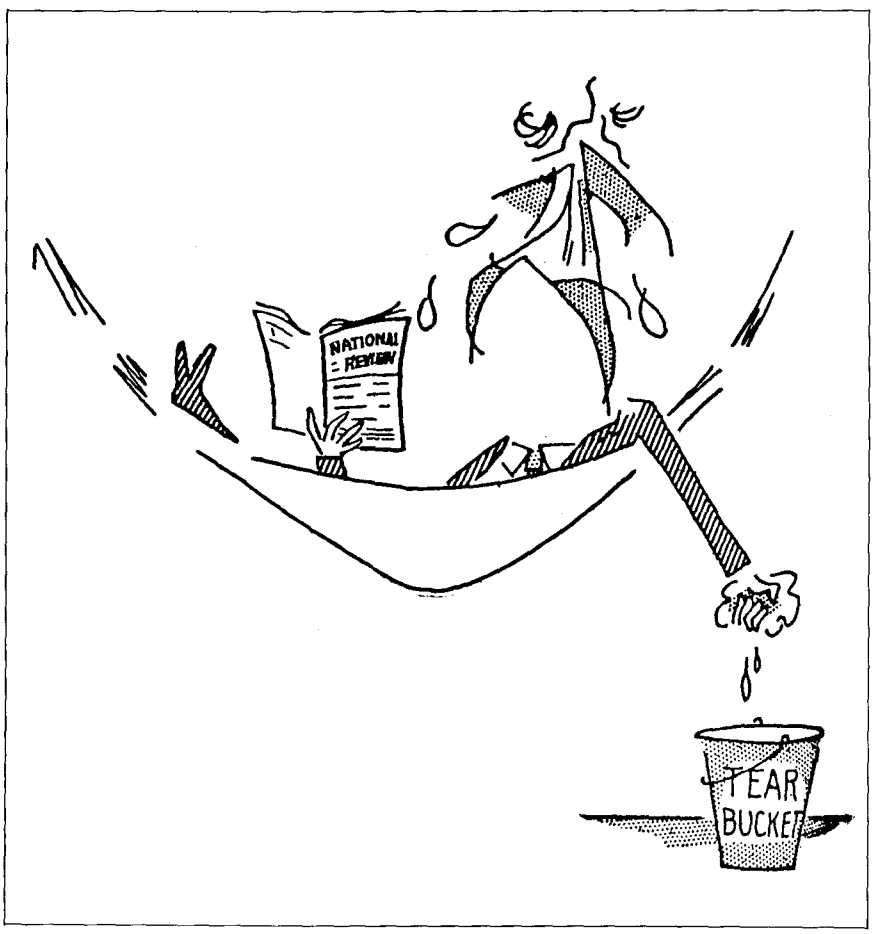


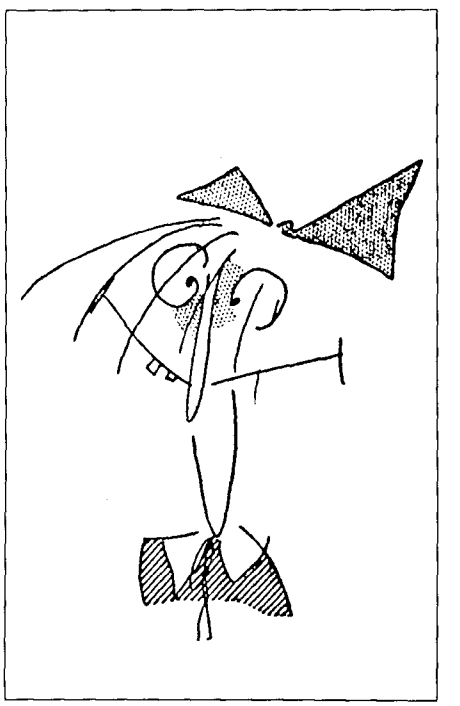
"I didn't say that I said that I didn't say it. I said that I didn't say that I said it. I want to make that very clear."



"Be emphatic *about Witch Hunts, McCarthyism, Guilt-by-Association, Police-State Methods, Climate of Fear, Reign of Terror, Abridgment of Academic Freedom, and Thought Control. Be* vague *about Hiss, Greenglass, Gold, Fuchs, Remington, Rosenberg, White, Coe, Eisler, Oppenheimer, Lattimore, Sobell, Ware, Silvermaster, and Coplon."*



"The trouble with you conservatives is that you're not liberal!"



"My name is Ameline Twirg and I'm just crazy—about Ike, I mean, and I think our policy of Middle-of-the-Rhodesians, Dynamically Moderate yet Progressively Sideways What-is-it is excellent, and so do my parents who stuff bats, that's their hobby, you should see the house!"

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STILL-LIFE BY SHELLFIRE

QARGA DAM—Through field glasses, the Communist defenses of Kabul appear as a line of citadels and castles perched atop a range of hillocks on the outskirts of the city. Flanking the solid square bulks of mud-brick fortifications, black silhouettes of dug-in tanks, forward bunkers, and gun emplacements with the guns raised high are clearly visible against a carpet of snow. The Qarga Dam—in whose lake Soviet soldiers used to go swimming—along with the adjacent grounds of the diplomatic golf course, has been turned into a bastion. Kabul's grain silos, the rock with the ancient Bala Hissar fortress, and the yellow mass of Najibullah's Presidential Palace rise above the expanse of snow-covered city roofs within range of our mortars. This is now the last Communist security ring around Kabul, the last line of posts separating the *mujahedin* from the center of the capital.

Kabul lies at the bottom of a vast, almost perfectly round crater formed by white peaks glistening in the sun; it used to be defended by three concentric security belts consisting of garrisons, outposts, and minefields. The third security belt—a ring about thirty miles from Kabul—has now been completely eliminated. The second ring—along the brink of the crater—which until recently was garrisoned by several thousand Soviet troops, holds fast on the eastern and southern approaches, but on the northern side it is leaky: the guerrillas can easily penetrate it in broad daylight. Here, in the western suburbs, all that's left of the second security belt is a few observation posts on the high ridges and a few fortified Communist garrisons on the plain between the mountains and the city itself, isolated in a sea of houses and dugouts occupied by *mujahedin*. The position of these garrisons is untenable, and the soldiers inside must know it—roads connecting them to Kabul are littered with the carcasses of armored personnel carriers and trucks that had tried to get through with supplies and were destroyed in guerrilla ambushes. But they are still cocky. They shoot mortar shells into the guerrilla territory throughout the day, and the night sky is torn by orange lines of tracer firefights. For the moment the *mujahedin* ignore them. Their time will come.

The countryside around us is devastated. Only about 10 per cent of the population remains in the once-prosperous suburban villages. Nestling in the folds of the hills above us lies the once affluent town of Paghman, which is to Kabul as Fiesole is to Florence. From time immemorial, monarchs and Kabul's rich had patronized the mountain resort on account of its mild climate and social cachet. On the banks of the Paghman stream they had built themselves villas with splendid views of the valley and the city; summer pavilions and gardens on top of a veritable crest of bricks—the royal palace—dominate the townscape. In a square in the city center, at the end of an alley of trees, with benches and remains of flower patches, stands a large triumphal arch consisting of a curious concoction of Roman arches, Greek friezes, and Koranic inscriptions—a monument to the Afghan victory over the British. "When the war is over we will build another one, to mark the victory over the Russians," one guerrilla assured me, pointing to a large Islamic banner fluttering on top of the building.

Paghman is utterly destroyed. As far as the eye can see, the closely built villas on the gentle slopes have been turned into rubble. Some have disappeared altogether. The craters of some bombs are a good dozen yards across and ten deep, with frozen ponds at the bottom where the ground-water level had been pierced. The town has changed hands between the Communists and the guerrillas three times, and the mementos of fighting lie everywhere: spent cartridges, unexploded bombs, and convulsed metal junk from houses, workshops, and garages. More shelling and daily bombings turn the rubble into ever finer dust. The places where there have been fresh explosions appear as black holes in the ground, encircled by wreaths of gunpowder and dust sprinkled on the snow. The town is destroyed, but the *mujahedin* control the ruins. The cellars of the once-elegant villas—made of stone, with concrete roofs—have come in handy: only a direct hit by the largest of bombs can destroy a guerrilla unit camping inside.

On the tree-lined road to Paghman from Kabul we passed a ghost convoy, a phantom of the last Communist defenders of Paghman. Several large, modern Soviet trucks stood in a tight queue on the asphalt, as if there were some holdup on the road and they had to wait, which was indeed the case. Three months ago the *mujahedin* had knocked out the armored car escorting them and the trucks—16 in all—smashed into one another, bursting into flames and incinerating the drivers and the troops they were carrying.

ON GLORIOUS, crisp winter days, huge Soviet transport aircraft pass over our heads dropping dozens of flares. Jets roar past on bombing raids while I wait for the offensive which is not likely to materialize. From Kabul a ribbon of asphalt issues—the strategic Kabul-Kandahar road, on which vast Soviet convoys used to rumble south. A few months ago even crossing that road had been a risky night operation that had once taken me two weeks to accomplish. Now, thanks to the guerrillas' Stingers, helicopters cannot patrol it, and I traveled on it in a guerrilla jeep in broad daylight to within twenty miles of Kabul. To get to Kabul took me

Mr. Sikorski is NR's roving correspondent.

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four days, instead of the three weeks it would have taken a few months ago.

Watching the guerrillas lazily clean their weapons, drink tea, or just mill about aimlessly, it is hard to believe I am only half an hour's drive from reporters inside Kabul whose tense voices emitting from my wireless describe the tightening guerrilla "noose" around the city, predicting an imminent assault. Curiously, the Soviets now join in exaggerating guerrilla strength. The meager counterrevolutionary and mercenary bands of a few years ago have now grown in the pronouncements of Soviet spokesmen into a force of thirty thousand around Kabul alone. This is sheer invention. After interviews with several regional commanders I would estimate there are at most five thousand guerrillas on battle station in Kabul province.

In fact, a Mexican standoff reigns between the Communist and Islamic forces. The guerrillas occasionally rocket the capital but only out of sheer boredom. What else can one do waiting endlessly in an abandoned house but occasionally let off a few rockets in the general direction of the airport? "It's not the best war," says Jack Thompson, a former U.S. Marine and a correspondent for *Soldier of Fortune*, "but it's the only one we've got."

Helicopters do not venture over guerrilla territory, but instead we are bombed three times a day on average by the sophisticated Soviet Mig-27s. They fly high, beyond Stinger range, but hit targets precisely, even through thick clouds. As usual, the bombing and the sporadic shelling claim victims other than the guerrillas: a man of over ninety, a woman with her three children, and the aunt of Mullah Ezat, the commander, are among the dozen civilians who will never see the end of the war. This is a score for one week. The guerrillas don't respond for fear of further retaliation. After all, Kabul is not besieged by a foreign army intent on sacking it: most guerrillas have families within and want to avoid civilian casualties. "When we start the offensive, we'll have to sustain it," explained Mullah Ezat.

FEBRUARY 15, the day of the completion of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, was particularly quiet. Hardly a shell sizzled overhead and the daily bombing raids stopped, as if the enemy thought that the guerrillas would try to shoot a plane down in celebration of the day and resolved to deprive them of any opportunity. I heard on the radio how a few hundred miles to the north of us, in front of the world's media, the last Soviet tanks rolled over the misnamed Friendship Bridge on the River Oxus back into the Soviet Union: red banners unfurled from tank turrets, bands playing, troops smiling and raising victory salutes. The photo opportunity was intended to convince the world that the internationalist mission of the Soviet army in defending democratic Afghanistan against imperialist aggression has been successfully accomplished and the boys, having done their duty, were coming home to a heroes' welcome. But General Boris "Butcher of the Salang" Gromov, the commander of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, made a point of being the last Soviet soldier to leave, a gesture that was meant to be, and was, symbolic. This must have been the first time in the history of warfare that a commander of a supposedly victorious army enacted his triumph at the rear of his troops, like the captain of a sinking ship.

It was a good day on which to think of what the Soviet Union has achieved in Afghanistan. When the Soviet Politburo decided, on a bleak December day in 1979, to send the tanks in, none of them, in their worst dreams, could have suspected what a disaster their decision would be: a decade of isolation in Asia and the Arab world, Western rearmament, a vast, wasted expense, 14,000 dead and fifty thousand wounded, even forgetting the million Afghans dead and the devastation of Afghanistan, Biblical in scale. What does the Soviet Union have to show for it? Operational training of its armed forces, say the experts, but it's the sort of training that every defeated army has received, from Austerlitz to Dienbienphu. The trauma of defeat outweighs the benefits of fighting experience. But the Soviet army has not been defeated, one might object. "You know," Colonel Harry G. Summers of the U.S. Army War College told a North Vietnamese colonel after the Vietnam War, "you never defeated us on the battlefield." "That may be so," his Communist counterpart replied, "but it is also irrelevant." An identical exchange could take place between General Gromov and Ahmad Shah Massoud.

Three days later, President Najibullah introduced a state of emergency in Kabul, putting tanks in the streets, banning gatherings, and purging most Cabinet members who do not belong to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. As one of my companions commented wryly: "Democracy has been suspended." The regime was inadvertently admitting that its earlier posturing as a government of "national reconciliation" had been mere propaganda. Now the gloves are off. Give or take a few thousand Soviet advisors and thousands of tons of military equipment and ammunition, Najibullah's Communist regime is now on its own. How long can it survive? □

(A further dispatch from Mr. Sikorski will appear next issue.)

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WILL THE SOVIET UNION SURVIVE UNTIL 1994?

The Soviet Union goes to the polls March 26 to elect a new Congress for People's Deputies, a 2,250-member legislative body that will convene next month. It will function as an electoral college, electing a president and a 422-member executive parliament. Not until the dust settles can Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev know whether he enjoys a secure lock on the new Supreme Soviet. Even if he does, he knows that four great crises confront him: the nationalities unrest in Moscow's subject republics, the economic crisis, the enormous ecology crisis, and—underlying all—the ideology crisis that is convulsing the Communist Party itself.

Boris Shragin, for many years a research fellow at the Institute of the History of Arts and a teacher at the Surikov Art Institute in Moscow, was an active participant in the human-rights movement in the Soviet Union during the 1960s. In 1968 he lost his academic position and his Party membership; he emigrated to the United States in 1974. He is here interviewed by David Evanier on the prospects for Gorbachev and perestroika. *Martin Sieff outlines the four great crises facing the Soviet president.*

David Evanier: What is your view of Gorbachev's performance?

Boris Shragin: He is mapping out a future in which, by law, he will have even more power than Stalin did. As both president and general secretary, he will be leader of the Party and leader of the state without any system of checks and balances. We are witnessing the rise of a very powerful dictator.

Evanier: How popular is Gorbachev within the Soviet Union?

Shragin: He is popular within elitist intellectual circles, not with workers or peasants. It would be more accurate to say that there are some forces that create his image of popularity.

For instance, last April, a Soviet newspaper published a full-page letter from a woman in Leningrad in which she stoutly defended Stalin. The publication of this letter created a great deal of fear. There were rumors that it was not the work of an ordinary citizen, but inspired by Ligachev. The whole society was frightened. Two weeks passed. Then a full-page editorial was published in *Pravda* severely criticizing this letter-writer. There was general relief. This incident is a very good example of how Soviet Western-minded intellectuals, so-called liberals, are pushed toward support of Gorbachev.

Evanier: But you don't know for certain that Gorbachev is orchestrating all this?

Shragin: There is no way anyone can be certain. One must admit Gorbachev has in fact introduced some reforms. But when you view them closely, they turn out to be very limited. A law was introduced with great fanfare that gave Soviet citizens the right to complain in court against actions by government or Party officials who had violated their rights. But this law applied only to the actions of individuals. An official must have acted by himself, arbitrarily, *against* instructions. So it's still impossible to protest against any institution. In addition, an amendment to this law stipulated that it didn't apply to matters of state security. So you couldn't touch KGB officials.

Here's another example, in the area of economics: The most important new law was about so-called state enterprise. This gave, or pretended to give, more latitude in applying initiative, in making agreements with other enterprises. But it was also stipulated under this law that priority was to be given to state orders. Now it's been revealed in the Soviet press that these state orders consume about 90 per cent of the production of these enterprises.

Evanier: Is this deliberate on Gorbachev's part, or incompetent?

Shragin: There is no question that Gorbachev does want to improve things, but at the same time he wants to increase his own personal power and to keep intact the system which is the basis of this power.

Gorbachev says he's creating a revolution. He's not, of course. He wants to keep the system as it is and as it was created. There are moments in history when a politician appears who wants to save the system by making some

Mr. Evanier is currently at work on a novel about American Communism. . . . Mr. Shragin, since his arrival in the United States, has served as co-editor of Landmarks *and* The Political, Social, and Religious Thought of Russian Samizdat, *and currently works for Radio Free Europe. . . . Mr. Sieff is deputy foreign editor of the* Washington Times.

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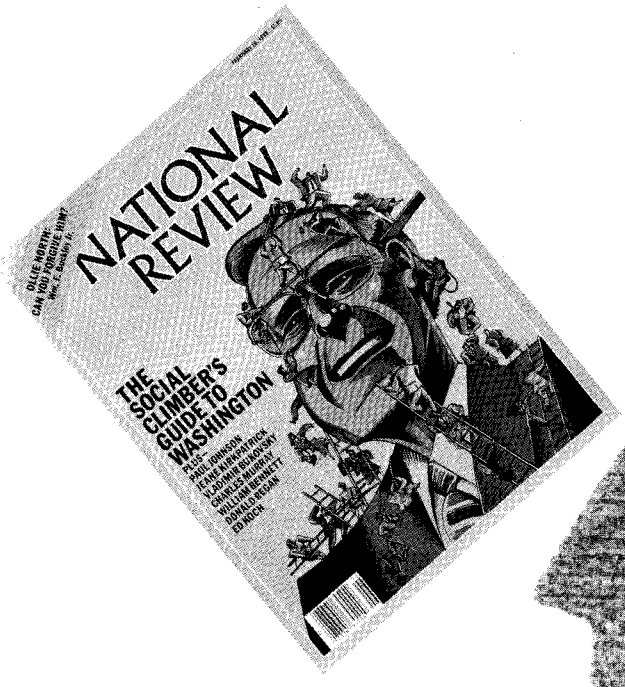

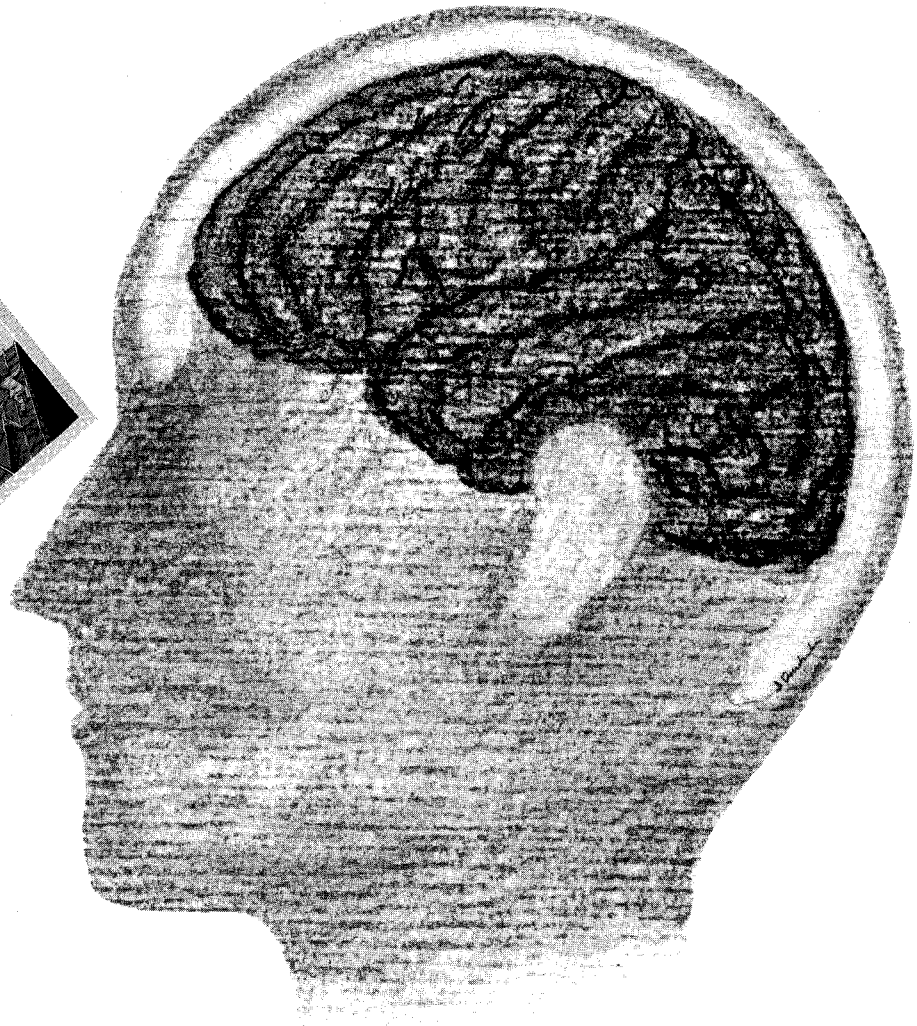

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liberal gestures. But as a matter of fact, his historical role is to push the system into deeper and deeper crisis. Because his attempts to renovate things are halfway measures.

Evanier: It appears to many in the West as if Gorbachev is doing something unprecedented, such as opening up the cauldron of Stalin's crimes far more than Khrushchev did.

Shragin: The news about Stalin isn't fresh. Not to the rest of the world or, in substantial part, to Soviet society. From the beginning of his rule, Gorbachev said that we, the Party, have to speak the truth. And the Soviet press is really interesting now. There are very moving letters from youngsters who say they were lied to in school, and that they were forced to lie themselves. So there is a real need to speak the truth. To let out some truth.

Evanier: But Gorbachev did set this into motion.

Shragin: There are very significant restrictions. It is still completely prohibited to speak about violations of human rights under Lenin or under Gorbachev. A substantial number of political prisoners, but not all of them, were released. But they were not rehabilitated. Those people are still deprived of their rights.

Gorbachev said once that he was not responsible for the crimes of Stalin's time, which is true. But he is responsible for these current crimes and those that occurred under Brezhnev. Because even under his leadership, for instance, Marchenko died in prison. There was no investigation of that at all. It is more convenient for Gorbachev to attract attention to earlier revelations. Because many things are in the memory of the people. They remember. They know these things anyway, because of all the underground publications, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and so forth. There are new revelations every day. But they insist again and again: the system can't be blamed for what happened. These were "aberrations," violations, mistakes, crimes. But the Soviet Union is a socialist society which is the future of the world; it's on the track again.

Evanier: Will it at least be a more "lenient" Communism?

Shragin: We see how Gorbachev manages crises. In Armenia he's totally denied the claims of the Armenian people. It would have been possible at the beginning to find some compromise, but he didn't do it. Immediately after Gorbachev's visit to Armenia, the KGB arrested members of the so-called Karabakh Committee, which genuinely represented the Armenian national movement.

Recently, a new law was introduced in the Soviet Union that permits police to disperse unauthorized demonstrators by using nightsticks. And in his main speech to the 19th Party Congress, Gorbachev said that those who went be-

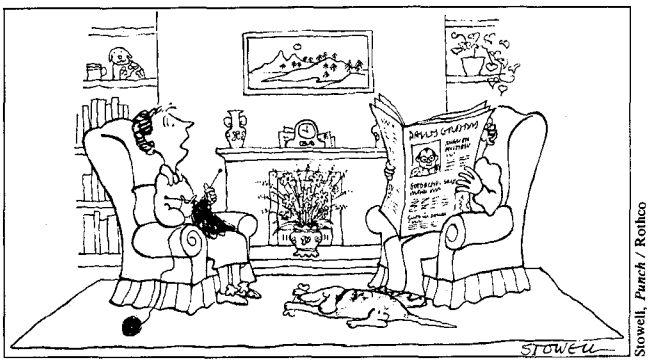
The Economic Crisis

GORBACHEV STARTLED Western analysts earlier this year by admitting that previously published figures for Soviet economic growth were false, and that the economy had been stagnant for a number of years.

As Western economists have pointed out, the Soviet economy requires the discipline imposed by a price structure that at least approximates reality. But there has been no Soviet price rise since 1953. To allow prices to rise, thus stimulating production, would be to abandon the tacit social contract that keeps the peace in Communist societies: However bad things are, at least prices will not rise. That is why he postponed the price-rise reform planned for next year.

Gorbachev must now come good on his promises to raise the Soviet standard of living to win the support he needs. He has promised the Soviet people nine square meters per person of housing space. But for that alone, the Soviets would have to borrow $100 billion. Yet the housing they built in the 1960s and 1970s is already falling apart. They are running fast just to stay in the same place.

Gorbachev also promised a volume of food supply half that of Europe and a volume of consumer goods a quarter that of Western Europe, but that will require another $200 billion over the next six years.



Stowell, *Punch* / Rothco

"I hate to admit it, Geoffrey, but I've forgotten what glasnost *means."*

Gorbachev has had great difficulty in taming the bureaucrats of Gosplan, the State Planning Commission, who oppose his efforts to encourage independent enterprises.

He chose his Gosplan bosses—Nikolai Talyzin and his successor, Yuri Maslyukov—from the military "command" economy, where they had been able to achieve impressive results by demanding priority of resources for their own projects. However, it is clearly ludicrous to apply this solution to the whole economy. He was—clearly—still thinking in terms of imposing a "command" economy solution, while just streamlining the procedure.

After three years of *perestroika*, Soviet economic problems are getting worse. Three years into Deng Xiaoping's economic-reform program in China, food production was soaring, and Deng enjoyed widespread support among China's peasant masses—more than 85 per cent of the total population. Gorbachev has yet to win any significant social class to support his reforms.

According to Marshall Goldman of Harvard's Russian Research Center, Gorbachev has told the Soviet peoples: "I want you to act as if you're free," but he hasn't freed them. The distinction is completely obvious to Russian workers and peasants. It only completely escapes Western intellectuals. —MARTIN SIEFF

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yond the Party line—for instance, insisting on changes in national borders inside the Soviet Union or trying to organize an opposition political party—would not be tolerated.

The conflict with Yeltsin was revealing. It's known (although the text has never been published) that Yeltsin criticized Gorbachev's policies and was punished for it. He supports *perestroika*, but he said in his speech that it does not go far enough and that it is contradictory. At the Party conference, Yeltsin's speech used the word "chief," not leader. "Chief" was Stalin's title. Yeltsin said that he was against the creation of an atmosphere in which "chiefism" could arise. He meant a dictator, a Führer. Gorbachev treated him with contempt. You know, Yeltsin is not a very sophisticated man. But I think that, in his way, he is honest. He really wants some changes.

Evanier: No one else really does?

Shragin: That is how I see it.

Evanier: How can people who have been as courageous and who are as sophisticated as Sakharov be taken in by Gorbachev?

Shragin: You know, a majority of the Soviet intellectuals don't believe in people. Or they don't believe it is possible to change this system so drastically. They believe that in reality under Communism it is possible only to effect change step by step, and only from above. This was always Sakharov's position. He wrote a letter to Brezhnev in which he suggested ideas that are very similar to what Gorbachev is proposing now. But this doesn't mean that Sakharov approves of everything that Gorbachev is doing.

The intellectuals who support Gorbachev are mainly of my generation, which had a very hard time. After Khrushchev, everything was repressed again. A small minority became dissidents. But the majority were really humiliated.

After those terrible conditions and humiliations, they are now permitted to tell some of the truth. With some restrictions: they have to blame Stalin, quote Lenin; they have to support socialism. But that's peanuts, compared to what they had to go through before. Now they're celebrities. Their opinions are solicited about the meaning of freedom, morals, whatever.

For intellectuals, you know, the main thing in life is literature or art or philosophy. They really believe in it. And they're not sophisticated in politics or economic matters. For them, freedom means to be able to write novels as they want to. To paint freely. Theater and film are uncensored now, at least to a degree. Outspoken things are published about the past. But there is almost no new literature. Not yet.

Evanier: How has the lot of the worker been affected?

Shragin: Up until now, a Soviet worker had a stable salary. It was very low by international standards, but it was better than nothing. Now his salary is connected to the profitability of his enterprise. When it is not profitable (which is usually the case, since under this system things are impossible) salaries are now cut. Or sometimes there are no salaries at all.

Evanier: Aren't the intellectuals concerned about this?

Shragin: The situation of the workers is so remote from them. It's much more interesting to talk about God, morals, or intellectual problems. Why talk about salaries?

Two days ago my wife had a very harsh conversation with a friend who is also a prominent historian of litera-

The Nationalities Crisis

FROM THE CAUCASUS to the Baltic, the Kremlin faces trouble. In Armenia and Azerbaidzhan, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets for control of Nagorno-Karabakh, a Christian Armenian enclave within mainly Shiite Moslem Azerbaidzhan. More than sixty have died since the ethnic strife began in early 1988. Previously peaceful Georgia—birthplace of Josef Stalin—is also up in arms. More than 150,000 people attended the largest protest demonstration ever under the Communist system in October 1988. Even more serious, the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are clamoring for autonomy.

But what alarms the Kremlin most of all is the explosive nationalist potential of the Ukraine. The need to keep the Ukraine's Communist Party leadership content explains why Vladimir Scherbitsky, the last of the Brezhnev old guard, is able to remain first secretary of the local Party despite Gorbachev's hostility to him. Gorbachev knows that even if he succeeded in toppling Scherbitsky, his followers could retaliate by letting loose violent popular protests on the streets of Ukrainian cities such as rocked Alma-Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, last December when its old Brezhnevite leadership was purged.

In Armenia, the Kremlin has put Soviet tanks onto the streets of the capital, Yerevan. But although the Soviets have a lot of tanks, they don't have enough to impose martial law on the whole USSR. Wherever they commit military force to maintain order, they have to sustain that force there indefinitely—a sobering prospect.

Moreover, these national movements draw on support within the local Communist leadership itself. They are marching under the banner of Gorbachev's own policies of *glasnost*, or openness, to demand a separate cultural, economic, and political identity.

Also alarming to the Soviet leadership is the degree to which the different national movements are cooperating with one another. The Coordination Group of National Democratic Movements—the umbrella movement linking these groups—originated this year from two small groups working on behalf of political prisoners in Armenia and Georgia. A parallel Ukrainian human-rights group then joined in.

Ironically, Soviet repression itself forged these links among the various national movements. Dissident leaders from different regions brought together in Soviet labor camps formed bonds of trust the hard way.

Gorbachev may have miscalculated badly when he launched *glasnost*. He apparently believed that the human-rights movement of the 1960s and early 1970s had been crushed so thoroughly by his patron, Yuri Andropov, who then led the KGB, that it would be unable to take advantage of the "healthy but controlled" criticism he foresaw. Instead, *glasnost* destabilized the equilibrium of resignation and caution that had restrained the Soviet Union's subject nationalities since the end of World War II. —MS

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ture. He was a dissident there in some ways and he emigrated. A very nice person. He has an offer to write an article for a Soviet magazine. He's ecstatic. And my wife told him that Gorbachev will turn out to be a new dictator. He said, "I don't care." Because for him it's great. He's achieved what he wanted.

Evanier: What if you were in the Soviet Union now, and you were being wined and dined?

Shragin: Well before, I would have been arrested. Now I would be released from prison as some of my friends have been. They have no rights to get a job in their profession or even permission to live in Moscow. One of my friends was a professor of biology at Moscow University before his arrest. Then he worked as a night guard somewhere outside of Moscow. He is very active in one of many dissident groups. That would also have been my destiny.

You know, for me it has been a very important experience to live in the West. My profession in the Soviet Union was aesthetics. So my interests were typically Russian. I was interested in art and philosophy. I was very liberal in a philosophical sense. I dreamed about freedom of personality, freedom of creativity. I was an existentialist.

But here, I became more interested in political matters. I did a lot of reading about democracy. I produced programs on Radio Free Europe about democracy and how it works. I began to understand the electoral process. For me, these are my deepest interests now—democracy, economics: practical matters.

And this is why, when I evaluate what is happening now in the Soviet Union, the difference of opinion I have with my old friends is that it seems less important to me that Soviet writers may be permitted to publish this or that article. I now try to evaluate events in terms of the likelihood of real change in the Soviet economic and

The Ecology Crisis

MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY, rooted in nineteenth-century materialism, applauds heavy industry and the conquest of nature, without permitting the popular feedback that grassroots democracy permits in the West. The Chernobyl nuclear-reactor disaster of April 1986 dramatized the problem in the most spectacular way, but *glasnost* allowed something like the full dimensions of the problem to surface for the first time.

Fyodor Morgun, head of the new State Committee for Environmental Protection, revealed last year that air pollution in all Soviet industrial centers now exceeds Soviet safety limits and is more than ten times the permitted level in 102 Soviet cities. He also revealed (at the 19th special Communist Party conference last June) that water from the great rivers of Russia, including the fabled Volga and the Don, is now almost unusable for drinking or irrigation. And there has been a succession of other such reports:

—In November, the official Soviet news agency TASS admitted that more than one thousand people in the Siberian city of Angarsk had sought medical treatment for breathing difficulties caused by industrial air pollution.

—An oil-processing factory polluted the Black Sea at Batumi, destroying a former famous tourist area, leading to a major anti-pollution demonstration there last October in which ten thousand people participated.

—In April 1986 a letter, signed by 350 Armenian dissidents, claimed that five out of every ten children around Yerevan were born dead, crippled, or with congenital deformities; that the number of cancer cases in Armenia had increased fourfold over twenty years; and that three Armenian rivers were biologically dead because of pollution.

—The Chernobyl accident made an area more than forty miles in radius uninhabitable and directly cost at least $13 billion in clean-up bills. The Soviet authorities claim that no serious levels of radiation remain. Yet they still will not allow Geiger counters in the Ukraine.

"UM... THIS MAY TAKE LONGER THAN WE THOUGHT..."

Not only is the ecology crisis fueling the nationalities one, however, it is also accelerating the ideology crisis by pitting local Communist leaders and activists against Moscow. Local officials breathe the same air and drink the same water as everyone else. Their children are dying too. So they increasingly side with demonstrators on environmental issues.

But when the Soviet economy is caught in a stumbling economic reform, the vast funds needed to redirect industry into more ecological paths are not available. There is no end in sight to the dead fish, oil-slicked beaches, and soaring cancer rates. —MS

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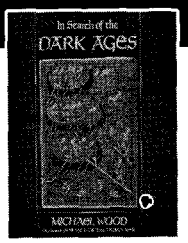

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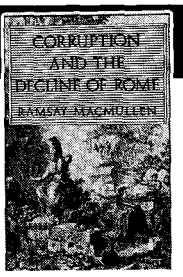

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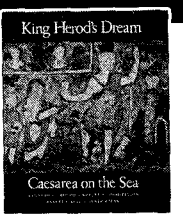

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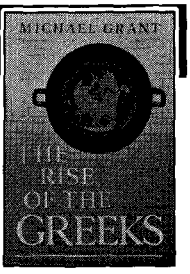

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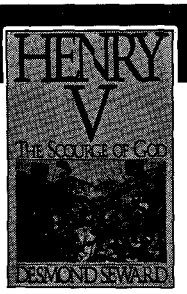

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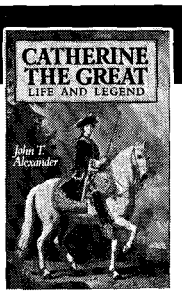

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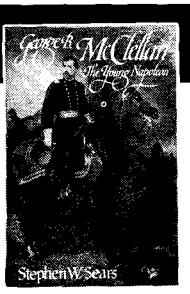

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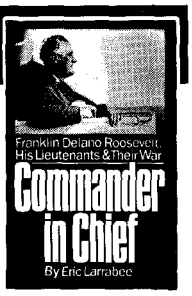

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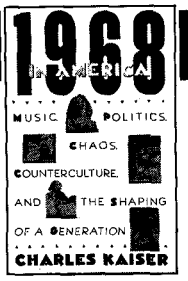

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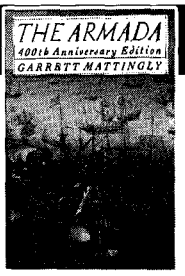

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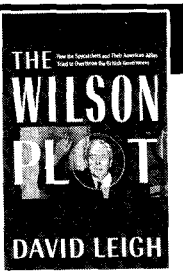

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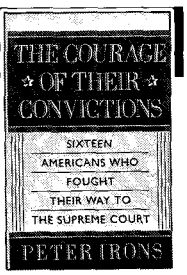

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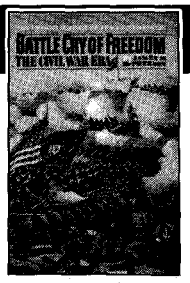

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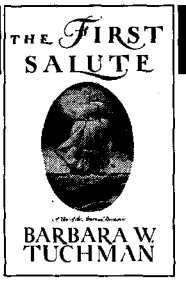

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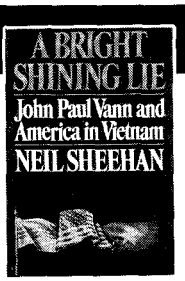

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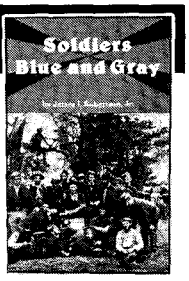

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The Ideology Crisis

ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION, Communism increasingly appears a dead ideology—assailed from the outside by religious revivals and fierce nationalist movements, and divided by internal feuding.

Sparked by the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the success of the *mujahedin* in Afghanistan, a major Moslem revival is now sweeping Turkic Moslem Central Asia. And in the West, scores of thousands of Lithuanians have poured into their reopened cathedral to attend the newly permitted Mass, while the still-persecuted, still-outlawed Ukrainian Catholic—or Uniate—Church, believed to be four to five million strong, is enjoying a dramatic revival.

Ironically, it started with Chernobyl. The word *chernobyl* is used to translate "wormwood" in the Book of Revelation, and the popular belief quickly spread through the Ukraine that the disaster was a divine judgment, turning the waters bitter with radioactivity in fulfillment of Biblical prophecy, and foreshadowing the fall of the atheist Communist system.

These beliefs received dramatic reinforcement on the first anniversary of Chernobyl when young children in the Western Ukrainian village of Grushevo claimed to have seen the first of a series of visions of the Virgin Mary. Attempts by the Soviet authorities to ridicule the reports backfired—during one hostile television documentary, hundreds of viewers reported seeing the image of the Virgin superimposed on their TV screens. Grushevo is now the second most important new pilgrimage site in Europe.

In the Russian Orthodox heartland, the decline of Communist ideology has left a spiritual gap that strange new forces are rushing to fill. Over the past twenty years, certain Russian intellectuals and dissidents have been attracted by a peaceful vision of traditional Orthodox religious nationalism, concentrating on the ecological restoration of the ravaged *rodina*, or motherland.

However, some Communist Party and Soviet military leaders have been trying to hijack Russian nationalism and turn it onto a path of xenophobic hatred of the West. This view finds its most eloquent and dramatic expression in the patriotic society Pamyat, or memory. Originally established as a preservationist group concerned with the Russian artistic and architectural heritage, it has become a radical exponent of Great Russian chauvinism, claiming that an international conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons is masterminding the destruction of the Soviet state. It holds mass rallies and lectures even in Moscow itself.

The popularity of Pamyat is itself a symptom of the collapse of Communist ideology as a motivating idea. But it opens up disturbing possibilities. Zbigniew Brzezinski, for example, has stated: "We are going to see a protracted period of crisis followed by the assertion of Great Russian nationalism. I don't see what other basis there is for them to build any appeal for political legitimacy."

We should note the phenomenon of collapsing Communist Parties. It happened in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, in Poland in 1981. In the first three cases, the Soviet military was called in to save the day. Poland established the precedent of a Communist nation's own military taking over the state in order to save it. After eight years, its leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, still runs Poland. Soviet military leaders may have found his example instructive. —MS

political systems—the possibilities for real democracy there.
Evanier: As a result of these changes in your interests and orientation, do you find that there has been an evolution in your political point of view as well?
Shragin: As a matter of fact, in the Soviet Union I didn't have a political point of view. I was for liberty, democracy, freedom of speech, human rights in general. Since arriving here, I have become committed to fighting for a multi-party system and a representative democracy in the Soviet Union. And I believe that in our time, any country, any nation can be democratic, the Soviet Union included. And if this doesn't happen, the Soviet Union will continue to be very dangerous for the free world. I think that Richard Pipes, in his book *Survival Is Not Enough*, made a very good point: before Gorbachev, the Soviet Union was already in deep crisis. And this crisis could trigger external aggression. That still remains a possibility.
Evanier: How much of a danger does Gorbachev pose for the free world?
Shragin: Right now he is less threatening, because things are in disarray. But the ideology is the same: that socialism is the future of the world. I don't believe that Gorbachev can be trusted without reservations. Basically it is impossible to imagine really friendly relations with the Soviet Union such as we have with France, let's say, or England.
Evanier: What is the Soviet public and media's evaluation of major political leaders of the West?
Shragin: The public knows very little about Western leaders. In general, America is very popular in the Soviet Union. An old man who had fought in World War II, after Reagan's visit to Moscow, wanted to give him as a gift a precious family ikon. He complained that the government did not permit him to do so. When Margaret Thatcher was in Moscow, she had her first interview on Soviet television. Many viewers had the impression that she made her points devastatingly well. The interviewers, very prominent Soviet journalists, were lost.
Evanier: How, then, do you judge the prospects for the Soviet Union?
Shragin: There are awesome social problems. There is lack of food. There is terrible medical care. Even in a city like Moscow, women are afraid to have babies. They contract diseases in the hospitals. Babies die or are born with defects. Nothing works.
Evanier: The Communist system is hopeless?
Shragin: Hopeless. □

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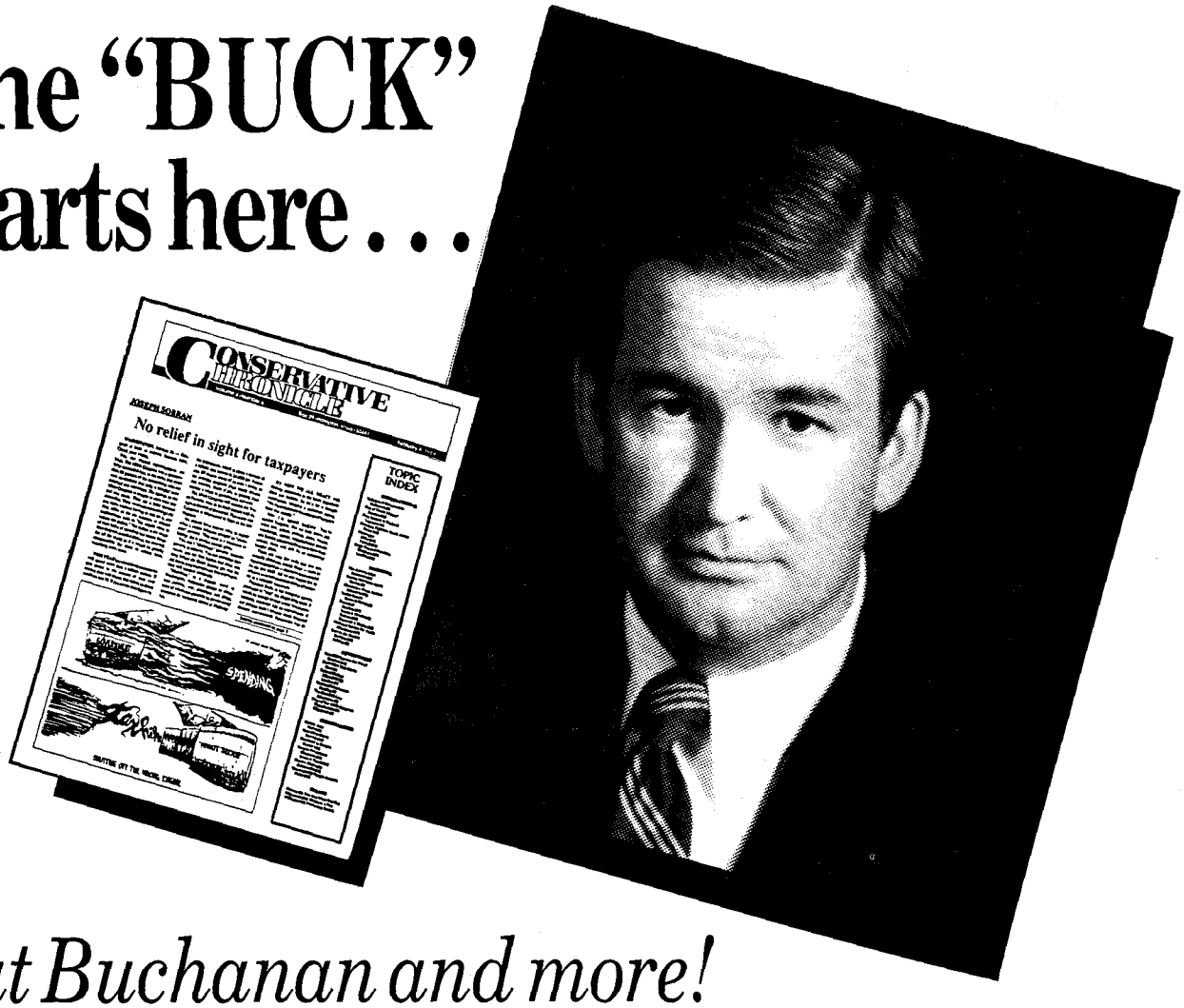

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"Gloria—either your date's here or they're bringing back Candid Camera."

That's Life

We outgrow our childhood,
  We outgrow our teens,
And again when we've learned
  What middle age means;
But old age is different
  And that is its curse:
We never outgrow it—
  It only grows worse.

CORINNA MARSH

"Well, I'm not voting for her for chief. Not only does she partake too much of the grape—she's a manizer as well."

EMBASSY OF THE PEOPLES' REPRESSIVE REPUBLIC
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1986
BEFORE YOU JUMP TO ANY CONCLUSIONS, LET ME REMIND YOU THAT MR. ORTEGA IS ENGAGED IN A REVOLUTIONARY THIRD WORLD STRUGGLE AGAINST WESTERN IMPERIALISM.
ORTEGA
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FREE SPEECH
H. PAYNE
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THE WEST
SHUT UP AND GET ME OUT OF THIS...
FREE SPEECH

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CREATIVE REDISTRICTING

Meet the late Phil Burton's 'contribution to modern art'—
the computer-drawn gerrymander.
It is already one of the bulwarks of congressional incumbency,
and it will be bigger and better yet after the 1990 census.

BEWARE THE GERRYMANDER, MY SON

JOHN H. FUND

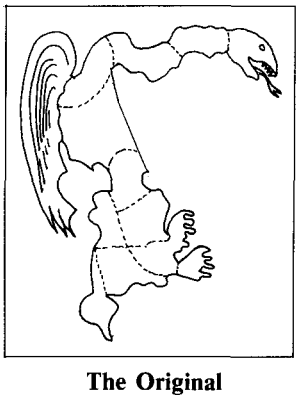
DURING THE sultry summer of 1981, the nation's political attention was focused on Washington. President Reagan and House Speaker Tip O'Neill were locked in fierce combat over the White House's budget and tax-cut proposals. Reagan ended up winning, and Washington observers predicted a new era of Republican dominance. But as Reagan accepted the cheers of the conservative faithful, 2,500 miles away a rumpled political junkie named Phil Burton was gerrymandering California's 45 congressional districts to ensure continued Democratic control of the House and help place a decade-long political roadblock in front of the conservative political agenda.

Phil Burton was a liberal hero who represented the Democratic stronghold of San Francisco in Congress. He watched with dismay as the Reagan political juggernaut rolled through Washington. He heard rumors that if the GOP gained any House seats at all in the 1982 elections, up to thirty House Democrats might bolt their party and vote with the Republicans to elect a conservative-coalition Speaker. He vowed to use the power the Democratic state legislature had given him to dictate the new congressional-district lines so as to prevent that from ever happening.

Through many warm nights that summer of '81, Burton held court at a back-room table in Frank Fat's Chinese restaurant in Sacramento, a two-block walk from the state-capitol building. Proud of his mastery of political demographics, Burton brazenly held late-night sessions to bargain over the shape of California's future congressional districts. He would call visiting members of Congress over to Frank Fat's, spread out his maps, listen to their desires for a redrawn district, hint at his own plans, and then dismiss them. He would always promise, "You're in your mother's arms," GOP redistricting consultant Henry Olsen recalls. "The one thing he didn't tell the Republicans was that their mother was about to drop them."

When Burton finally unveiled his computer-drawn magic—what he called his "contribution to modern art"—politicians were struck dumb by his genius. One said that the drawers of the original gerrymander, an 1812 Massachusetts legislative plan supported by then-Governor Elbridge Gerry, "would have had to concede the trophy to Phil." One district, drawn specifically for Burton's ally Howard Berman, was an incredible 385-sided figure that meandered through most of the San Fernando Valley.

The "Burtonmander" worked just as its creator had hoped it would. It turned a 22 to 21 Democratic edge in the congressional delegation into a 28 to 17 majority after the 1982 election. All 22 Democratic incumbents were given safe districts, while only 15 of the 21 Republicans kept their seats. Political scientist Bruce Cain has shown that Phil Burton's sessions at Frank Fat's netted the Democrats at least five extra House seats. While that would probably not have been enough to elect a coalition Speaker, a shift of five seats can still have a large impact. A recent House Republican conference report showed that from 1983 through 1987, at least seventy votes on substantive issues of foreign and domestic policy were decided by five votes or less.



The Original Gerrymander

BURTON HIMSELF died of a heart attack in 1983, and so did not see the long-term success of his artwork. Since the Burton plan was implemented only one of California's 45 districts has shifted party control. The rest have been frozen in political time. In 1984, Republicans won 50.5 per cent of the state's two-party vote for Congress; yet Democrats won 60 per cent of the seats. In both 1986 and 1988, the GOP won 47 per cent of the vote, and Democrats won 60 per cent of the seats.

Other gerrymanders enacted in 1981 and 1982 in states such as Illinois and Texas also solidified or expanded Democratic strength. In the 367 congressional races both parties entered in 1984, the Republicans won 500,000 more votes, but the Democrats ended up with thirty more seats.

Partisan gerrymandering largely benefits Democrats, who control both houses of the state legislature in 28 states.

Mr. Fund is an editorial writer for the Wall Street Journal. *His articles on gerrymandering have appeared in* Election Politics *and* The Political Report, *published by the Free Congress Foundation.*

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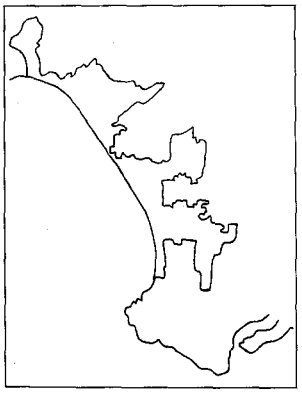
But in many states political gerrymandering is still held in check by the fact that a governor of the other party can veto a gerrymander. A more serious problem is the prevalence of bipartisan gerrymandering. Incumbents of both parties now routinely conspire to draw districts that will re-elect them. The only losers are potential challengers in both parties—and the voters.

This bipartisan gerrymandering coupled with other protections for incumbents produced House elections in 1986 and 1988 that were structurally the most uncompetitive since 1832, according to noted political scholar Walter Dean Burnham. Both times, only six incumbents—less than 2 per cent of those running—lost, and in more than four out of five House districts the winner took home over 60 per cent of the vote.

THE DANGER in the redistricting that will take place after the 1990 census is that state legislators of both parties now have the data and computers to make even Phil Burton's gerrymander look like the work of an amateur. Last month, the Census Bureau announced that it will now be able to provide redistricting officials with census data down to the block level. "That means I could decide I liked the demographics of people on one side of a street more than on the other and draw the district line down the middle between them," says Republican National Committee consultant Tom Hofeller.

In this light, take a look at some highpoints of the Burton gerrymander. One of the most frequently cited examples of creative gerrymandering is California's 27th CD, held by Democratic Representative Mel Levine. The area floating apart from the rest of the district is not land—it represents whatever people were on docked boats in Los Angeles Harbor the day the 1980 census was taken. Another stylized dragon is called the 32nd CD. The 32nd was a first-prize winner at the Burton School of Art and is currently in the possession of Representative Glenn Anderson.

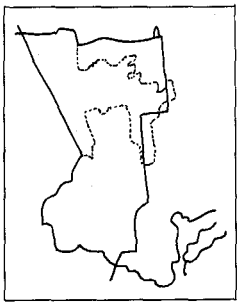


The 27th CD—Burton's Version

Opponents of gerrymandering complain that it is almost impossible to educate voters about the serious nature of the problem—it is inherently an issue only for those who follow political "inside baseball." While this is generally true, there are exceptions. Republican opponents of Phil Burton's handiwork put an initiative on the June 1982 ballot asking voters to overturn it. After a fierce campaign, voters rejected the Democratic districting lines by margins of nearly 2 to 1. The legislature was instructed to prepare new plans.

Unchastened, the Democratic legislature rammed through a new set of district lines that differed only slightly from the ones the voters had just rejected. Departing Democratic Governor Jerry Brown signed the legislature's new gerrymander—dubbed Son of Burton—into law only hours before his Republican successor, George Deukmejian, was sworn in. When this blatant defiance of the people's will was challenged, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown had a succinct reply: "Screw the people!"

Opponents of the Burtonmander did not give up. In 1983, a young Republican assemblyman and wine grower named Don Sebastiani collected 600,000 signatures for a "good government" redistricting plan that largely followed city and county boundaries. Republicans would clearly have been helped by the new lines, but a few of their incumbents would have been threatened. Not surprisingly, the State Supreme Court led by the judicial activist Rose Bird threw the initiative off the ballot, preserving the status quo. More surprising was the opposition Mr. Sebastiani encountered from within his own party. "Gerrymanders really do entrench incumbents of both parties," he says. "I found that out when GOP incumbents told me not to upset the apple cart."



The 27th CD—Sebastiani's Version

While everyone acknowledges the existence of gerrymanders, there is vast disagreement about their importance. Norman Ornstein, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, points out that, all other things being equal, a party that wins 52 per cent of the vote for Congress will probably capture 55 per cent or more of the seats. "The minority is simply less efficient in being able to translate its overall support into the maximum number of seats," he contends. Tom Hofeller agrees that Ornstein has a point, but says gerrymandering still locks players out of the political arena. "Anyone who says gerrymandering can only play a small role in reducing political competition should let me draw their state's districts," Hofeller says. "There wouldn't be another real race for the House in that state for ten years."

But even some conservatives who believe gerrymandering distorts electoral outcomes think that very little should be done to correct it. "Trying to define gerrymandering is even more difficult than defining pornography," says columnist Malcolm Forbes Jr. "The only way to correct gerrymandering is to adopt proportional representation. That would have a baleful impact on this country by increasing instability and encouraging special-interest parties."

While such concerns are certainly valid, gerrymandering on the scale allowed by the new computers will clearly dilute the ability of millions of Americans to influence the electoral process. Fewer than two dozen congressional districts were considered truly marginal by political handicappers in 1988—that is, winnable by either party under normal circumstances. Elections have thus largely become pro-forma exercises that inhibit the open and vigorous political debate that is the essence of democracy.

Voters have responded to this lack of competitive House elections by not going to the polls. In the 1986 mid-term election, only 33 per cent of eligible voters cast ballots in House elections—the lowest turnout since 1942. But they will still turn out for a hot contest. In Florida, 38 per cent voted in the lively 1986 U.S. Senate race, but only 25 per cent in that state's humdrum U.S. House elections.

What can be done to limit the corrosive effect of gerrymandering? Until recently, very little, since the U.S. Su-

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preme Court had not decided whether or not the victims of gerrymandering could be granted constitutional relief.

Many critics of gerrymandering have proposed that gerrymanders be curbed through state constitutional provisions or congressional action that would strictly implement a set of rules limiting partisan line-drawing, such as compactness and the use of city and county boundaries. Such standards would be welcome, but neither Congress nor state legislatures are likely to limit their own redistricting power. In California, where voters in 1980 passed a constitutional amendment mandating guidelines on redistricting, the legislature has completely ignored them.

Another way to reform the redistricting process is favored by President Reagan. He promises to make an anti-gerrymandering campaign a top priority now that he has left office. He told David Brinkley in a farewell interview that "the Founding Fathers made something of a mistake" in allowing self-interested state legislators to draw their own districts. President Reagan supports removing redistricting from the legislature and placing it with a "bipartisan" commission of prominent citizens. Some ten states currently use some form of commission to redraw district lines, but since members tend to be appointed by the political parties, they typically pass bipartisan "incumbent preservation" gerrymanders.

A MORE PROMISING avenue of relief was opened up in 1984 when a U.S. District Court in Indiana held in *Davis* v. *Bandemer* that Indiana Republicans had unfairly gerrymandered the state's legislative districts. In 1982, Indiana's Democratic slate had won 52 per cent of the popular vote for the lower house, but only 43 out of one hundred seats.

Bandemer was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in 1986 ruled that claims of partisan gerrymandering could be heard by federal courts. A decision by four Justices further found that gerrymandering that artificially entrenches one party in power over a period of time was unconstitutional. However, it ruled that Democrats opposing the Indiana plan, resting their case on the results of a single election, could not convince the Court that Democrats were doomed to perpetual minority status. And indeed the effect of the Indiana gerrymander—unlike the "Burtonmander" and others—was eventually diluted by population shifts and other factors. By 1988 Democrats were able to win a tie in the Indiana House even with the gerrymandered districts.

The Court's ruling was a reasonable compromise between the conflicting constitutional demands of federalism—allowing states to design their own political subdivisions—and the principle that districts should not be drawn so that they consistently discriminate against members of any particular voting group, be they black, Hispanic or—GASP!—even members of an opposing political party.

In late 1986, five months after the ruling in *Bandemer*, a three-judge District Court in California finally held a hearing on *Badham* v. *Eu*, a Republican challenge to the 1982 Burtonmander. The 2 to 1 decision dismissing the Republican challenge was finally handed down in May 1988. The District Court basically asserted that since Republicans had elected a state governor and a U.S. senator, and "given also that a recent former Republican governor of California has for seven years been President of the United States," Republicans were still able to "exercise potent power" in the political process as a whole. But as Professor Gordon Baker, a redistricting specialist for over thirty years, points out, much the same argument was voiced in the 1960s by segregationists and others who defended districts with clearly unequal populations that favored rural interests. They insisted that urban and suburban voters were not really shut out of the political process since they could still elect candidates on a statewide basis.

Yet on January 17, the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the Republican challenge to the Burton gerrymander without hearing oral argument or issuing an opinion. Roy Schotland, a Georgetown University Law School professor, said the Justices may have decided to affirm the plan because Phil Burton's maps were due to expire after the 1990 elections anyway. Still, the Court's decision disappointed those who thought it might finally provide a firm legal precedent for evaluating future redistricting plans. The Court's upholding of the Burton maps means that any test case of the gerrymander's limits won't be heard until after the next congressional-district lines are drawn.

Obviously the Court is still bitterly divided over what restrictions it can place on legislative majorities seeking political advantage in the drawing of district lines. Its hesitation is understandable. Creation of a true "level playing field" is impossible and would mean that unelected judges would probably end up drawing most redistricting plans. But the Supreme Court is just as correct in implying that a meaningful political contest can't take place if one party uses its power to such an extent that it locks the other player out of the stadium entirely. Professor Baker believes the Supreme Court must set some standards. "Failure to reverse *Badham* would tell legislators that after the 1990 census no holds would be barred," he says. "With increasingly sophisticated computers, voters could be fenced in and out of districts all over the country with no justification other than keeping the minority party out of power."

Professor Bernard Grofman, a frequent expert witness for Democrats in redistricting cases, believes the Court can construct standards that would throw out egregious gerrymanders such as Burton's but would maintain a sufficiently high standard to avoid an overload of the judicial system. In 1962, in the famous *Baker* v. *Carr* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that voting districts must be populated equally. Later in the 1960s the Court also said that courts may throw out districting plans where there is evidence of racial discrimination, and this is routinely done today. There is legitimate argument over the extent to which the federal courts should have intervened in such local matters. But both decisions are now generally acknowledged as a functional part of American democracy.

Today, in the last part of the twentieth century, the major danger to effective democracy is rooted in political gerrymandering and the vast array of incumbent protections Congress and state legislatures have erected in order to give themselves de-facto lifetime tenure. The polity can no longer afford to allow sophisticated computers and abstract redistricting art to limit political competition and thwart the democratic decisions of the American people. The political creature known as the gerrymander must be caged and the will of the people, as reflected in their votes, set free. □

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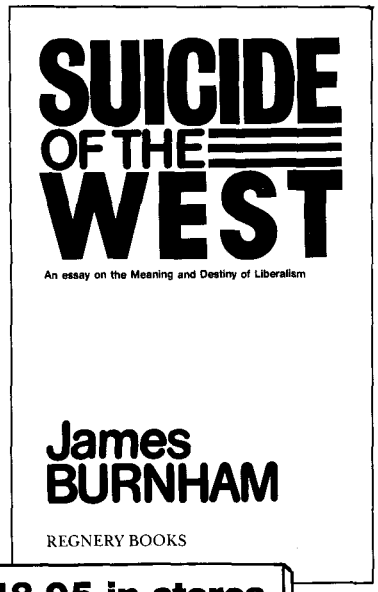

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WHAT RIGHTS? WHOSE RIGHTS?

For 16 years, the abortion debate has asked the moral and legal questions: What rights does a woman have? What rights her unborn child? Now the debate shifts into the realm of politics, as we contemplate the shape of the battle

AFTER ROE

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

JUSTICE HARRY BLACKMUN has said that *Roe* v. *Wade* might fall this term. Maybe he just wanted to provoke pro-choice forces to intensify their efforts. But there is no doubt that the new debate has begun: What comes after *Roe* v. *Wade* is gone? In *The New Republic*, Harvard law professor Mary Ann Glendon suggests we might have to learn from the way the Western Europeans deal with abortion. In a new book, *Science and the Unborn*, biologist Clifford Grobstein says that science might give us a basis for compromising on what is "truly human." George Will pulls the pertinent considerations together in a recent column (*Newsweek*, Feb. 13).

Will correctly notes the incoherence and "anti-constitutional nonreasoning" of the Supreme Court's abortion rulings. He also recognizes that the abortion debate is not really over the question of when human life begins. "The indisputable fact," he observes, "is that a fetus is alive and biologically human . . . Biology does not allow the abortion argument to be about when human life begins. The argument . . . is about the moral significance and hence the proper legal status of life in its early stages."

George Will is skeptical about the other George's conversion to a pro-life position (no abortions except in cases of rape, incest, and direct threat to the mother's life). But he says that Bush is stuck with it. Will assumes that the pro-life position is a political albatross. He writes, "Many millions of voters who would recoil from enactment of the [abortion] policy embraced by Bush and the GOP platform vote Republican anyway because for 16 years abortion has been largely a subject of litigation rather than legislation." But, Will says, if *Roe* v. *Wade* is reversed the abortion issue will be brought to "an instant boil" in fifty state legislatures, and then the Republicans, if they stick with the pro-life position, are in for it. The Republican position, he says, goes against the grain of the culture, which was moving in a liberal direction on abortion before *Roe* v. *Wade*. Will's political judgment is unequivocal: "If *Roe* is reversed, either the Republican Party must retreat from its nearly categorical opposition to abortion or it will suffer severe reverses in state legislative contests—and hence in its party-building efforts and its hope of someday capturing the House of Representatives."

Pastor Neuhaus is NR*'s religion editor.*

The argument about what comes after *Roe* is of considerable interest at four levels, each entangled with the others: the moral, the legal, the cultural, and the political. No doubt the question of the "legal status" of unborn life will depend upon a democratic judgment about the "moral significance" of that life. Will thinks some differences can be split "if the argument is not about when in pregnancy life begins but when in pregnancy abortions should stop." That may sound attractive, until it is seen that it redirects the argument to one of the rocks on which *Roe* was dashed. Will himself admits that *Roe*'s differentiations into trimesters—based upon notions such as "viability," and the distinction between "potential" and "meaningful" life—were logically incoherent and contrary to biological fact.

His proposed recasting of the question is no recasting at all. It simply replays the widely recognized illogic of *Roe*. With respect to the unborn, the question is, What is this? Maybe the question is, Who is this? Most people readily recognize that the "what" is human life which, barring natural misfortune or deliberate attack, will become the "who" of a person possessing rights. Certainly the question is not "when." Time lines that allow life to be attacked at one point but not at a later point cannot help appearing to be arbitrary, because in fact they are arbitrary.

THE ABORTION ARGUMENT has been up and down the chronological road for years, indeed for centuries. The effort to determine the point of "ensoulment," or of "quickening," or of when a human life becomes a "person" has been exhausted and discredited. In addition to the theological and ethical experience with such debates, contemporary science powerfully underscores the impossibility of making a rational determination of a "before" and "after" with respect to the "moral significance" and hence the "legal status" of unborn life. Of course there are purely emotive and subjective time differentiations that can be made. Grobstein speaks about the point at which we can "mobilize interest and concern" for the unborn. At, say, three weeks the life in the womb does not *seem* to many people to be a baby, whereas at, say, twenty weeks they have no doubt about the presence of a baby. But this is entirely subjective. It says nothing about what or who is there; it is only a comment on what or who many people

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feel is there. This is nothing more than an exercise in raw emotivism, which would also jeopardize the moral credibility of laws regarding persons and rights in connections other than abortion.

The debate is not over chronology but over the weighing of a human life against the reasons for terminating that life. The radical pro-choice position (i.e., the position of *Roe*) is that *any* consideration is sufficient to justify the decision to terminate. Indeed no reason need be given; the mere wish to terminate is sufficient reason. A more moderate pro-choice position is that at least *some* reason must be given, and the reason must not be trivial or willful. As the abortion debate comes to an "instant boil" in state legislatures, gradations of such pro-choice proposals will no doubt have considerable appeal.

Are we, then, facing the prospect of "splitting differences"? Yes and no. Post-*Roe* accommodations will be made in most, if not all, states. The accommodation already agreed to by most pro-life leadership is not on the "moral significance" of the unborn but on the limits of law. The distinction between the legal and the moral is firmly rooted in almost all traditions of ethical reflection, religious or otherwise. It is a distinction, not a separation. Laws must be legitimated by reference to morality, but if we try to translate all of morality into law, we overburden the law, with the result that law is brought into disrepute. The consistent pro-life position is that every unborn human life should be protected by law, without exception. The consensus in the pro-life leadership, however, is that there will be exceptions. The reluctant acceptance of that reality in no way implies approval of it. Nor does it indicate inconsistency with respect to the "moral significance" of unborn life. Rather, such acceptance is based upon a prudential judgment that combines considerations that are moral, legal, cultural, and political.

After *Roe*, it seems likely that every state will make exceptions for rape, incest, and direct threat to the life of the mother. The political fact is that most pro-life leaders and their political friends, including the Bush Administration, have decided that this is the most that is obtainable. There is also a matter of principle supporting the exception of direct threat to the life of the mother. No law can properly require heroic virtue. For a woman to surrender her life for the life of her unborn child is heroic virtue.

Jennifer Lawson

One may argue that such self-surrendering love is morally mandated, but it cannot be legally mandated. Saints are produced by religious inspiration, not by edict of the state. Plus, there is a substantial Judaeo-Christian tradition that justifies the taking of human life in such extreme circumstances. Rape and incest do not constitute the same life-*versus*-life dilemma. Yet most pro-life thinkers have accepted the inevitability of these exceptions as well. To require a woman or girl to carry to term the child of a rapist or a drunken father would be politically unsustainable. Pro-abortionists would certainly exploit such cases in order to undermine the entire proposition that the state must protect the unborn. In addition, the argument can be made that the question of heroic virtue and the limits of law is engaged also in instances of pregnancy from rape or incest.

People of pro-life conviction are sometimes nervous about discussing the accommodations that may follow the reversal of *Roe*. Given our society's adversarial polity, some believe that not an inch should be given, and certainly not even a fraction of an inch should be given in advance. They contend that the pro-life movement should, state by state, go for broke. That viewpoint is understandable. By going for broke, however, they could wind up seeing the remarkable pro-life achievement of the last 16 years broken. It would not be the first time that insistence upon the best defeated the better and perpetuated the worst. In light of the inherent limits of law, it is also doubtful that an absolute prohibition of abortion is in fact "the best." What, then, is the best that the pro-life movement should work for? One answer would seem to be: The most comprehensive legal protection of unborn life that is culturally and politically sustainable.

Of course we can only discover what is sustainable by historical testing. What is sustainable may change over time. When the law's unlimited license to abort is withdrawn, when the "moral significance" of the unborn again finds support in law, popular attitudes are bound to change significantly. This is true not only of those seeking abortions but also of those doing abortions. For example, studies indicate that, with very few exceptions, abortionists say they would quit the business if what they are doing were no longer legal. Further, there are undoubtedly thousands of women now getting abortions who believe it must be moral because it is legal. We should not underestimate the pedagogical force of law. Common fatuities to the contrary, laws reflect moral judgments. Even when those judgments cannot be effectively enforced, they can be effectively taught, and the law is one of society's most potent teaching instruments.

No thoughtful person of pro-life persuasion believes that after *Roe* there will be no more abortions. In this instance too, where laws are made laws are broken. That is a truism, and has never been a valid argument for not making laws. It is a valid caution against making unnecessary laws. After 16 years of experiment with the abolition of abortion law, it is clear beyond reasonable doubt that a politically effective majority of the American people believes that laws protecting the unborn are necessary. But, if the restoration of abortion law will not eliminate abortions, what will it achieve? The hope is that it will effect two monumental changes.

First, it will effect a drastic reduction in the absolute number of innocent human lives unjustly terminated. It is

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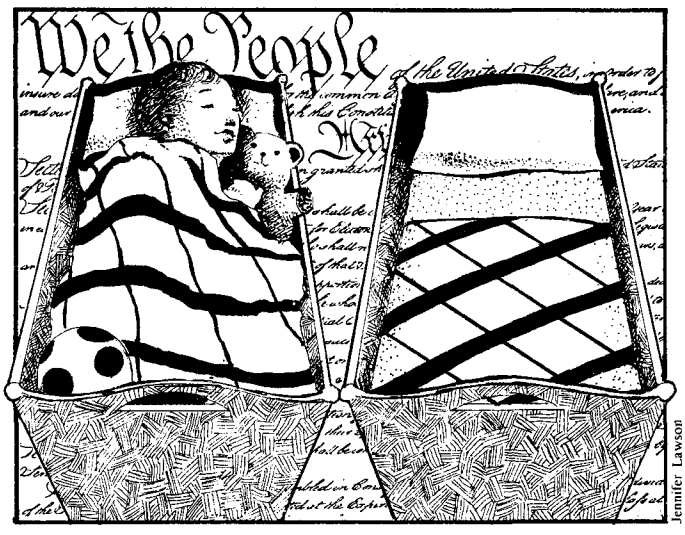
quite possible that there will still be a hundred thousand or more abortions in America each year. And quite possibly, as some claim, there would be many fewer. Nobody knows. What we do know is that, even if we accept the high figure of two hundred thousand, that is 1.3 million fewer than the number of unborn children killed each year under *Roe*. If one believes that each of those unborn children is endowed by "Nature and Nature's God" with a life to live, such a change cannot help seeming a good beyond measure. Of course every abortion is a tragedy, but more than a million fewer tragedies each year is a monumental change for the better.

Hysterical propaganda to the contrary, this will not mean a return to the clothes-hanger and the back-alley perils of pregnant Pauline. As Dr. Bernard Nathanson has subsequently explained, the horror stories and statistics invoked to support liberalized abortion in the 1960s were frequently sheer inventions by himself and others. Moreover, the technology since developed by the abortion industry is relatively cheap, available, and medically safe (for the mother, not the fetus). Nor, despite the fumblings of the Bush Administration on this question, are we facing the post-*Roe* prospect of women being jailed for seeking or obtaining abortions. On the basis of long experience prior to *Roe*, it should be obvious that restored abortion law will carry criminal penalties aimed at the abortionist.

The second great change will be a return to an inclusive definition of membership in the community for which we accept public responsibility. Such a change is urgently needed, and for reasons that go beyond abortion. Witness current agitations for euthanasia and the elimination of categories of people who are, in the lethal logic of *Roe*, not living "meaningful human lives." The elimination of the useless aged, the hopelessly handicapped, and the persistently vegetative is not a matter of alarmist scenarios for the future. Such eliminations are being proposed and, to some extent, are being perpetrated now.

These developments have everything to do with the ominous turn that liberalism took early in the abortion debate. American-style liberalism is schizophrenic. On the one side, it is profoundly communitarian; on the other, radically individualistic. In the abortion debate, the pro-choice forces successfully seized the liberal banner for a radical individualism that, in the pursuit of self-actualization, acknowledges no bonds of community or duty to others. That is the individualism enshrined in *Roe*'s dubious discovery of a constitutional "right to privacy." When communal bonds are thus sundered, public protection is withdrawn not only from the unborn. Proponents of euthanasia, of fetal farming and experimentation, and of the eugenic elimination of the unfit (all being people without "meaningful life") are entirely correct in appealing to the letter and spirit of *Roe*. The reversal of that decision, then, will dramatically reduce the incidence of abortion, and will also apply the brakes to the extension of practices that are fully warranted by its reasoning.



Jennifer Lawson

So, what are we to say to George Will's argument that pro-choice and pro-life advocates "can split some differences if the argument is not about when in pregnancy life begins but when in pregnancy abortions should stop"? The pro-life movement has already made accommodations, but they are not accommodations on the "when" or the "what" or the "who" of human life. They are accommodations that recognize the limits of law in relation to morality. As for splitting differences, one notes that the pro-choice advocates have indicated not the slightest willingness to accommodate. The National Organization for Women, Planned Parenthood, ACLU, et al. have adopted an unrelenting posture of "not one inch." Sensing that they are on the losing side, they fear that the smallest hint of willingness to accommodate would precipitate the entire collapse of the victory they once thought secured by the *Roe* decision.

In a democratic polity such as ours, it is generally best when conflicts can be resolved without total winners and total losers. After *Roe*, however, the pro-life position will hardly have a total victory. There will be some abortions by legal exception, there will be a substantial number of illegal abortions, and it is possible that a few states will permit something close to abortion on demand. Such a situation is hardly satisfactory from the pro-life viewpoint. The pro-life goal will be to continue to work toward the most comprehensive sustainable legal protection for the unborn, and toward a more caring and sexually responsible society that will reduce the felt need for abortion.

But, if the post-*Roe* situation will not be satisfactory to pro-lifers, it will be much less satisfactory to pro-choicers. There is no blinking the fact that in that situation they will be the losers. Mr. Will correctly says, "This democratic nation needs a vigorous argument, not judicial fiat, about abortion." The pro-choicers won a 16-year victory by judicial fiat in the *Roe* decision. It very quickly became evident, however, that they had lost the argument by their stubborn refusal even to acknowledge the question of the "moral significance and hence the proper legal status of life in its early stages." With that stubborn refusal, they set themselves against clear reason and scientific fact—and against the moral sensibilities and common sense of most Americans. On the most critical issue, the "vigorous argument" that Mr. Will calls for has taken place, and the pro-life position prevailed.

The analysis of George Will and others must be challenged also in connection with cultural directions and political consequences. Will writes, "The culture was moving [in a pro-abortion direction] before the Court moved." →

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Operation Rescue

"I PROMISED my kids I wouldn't get arrested," she sighs. "I have to pick them up from school." The young woman, a doctor's wife, stands behind a police barricade watching four hundred New York City cops arrest 275 anti-abortion activists who are staging a "rescue" at the Margaret Sanger Center, the national headquarters of Planned Parenthood. When police arrive to disperse them, the anti-abortionists go limp and have to be carried or dragged to waiting buses. As the woman is speaking, ten more rescuers crawl under the barricade on their hands and knees. A policeman charges toward them, shouting, as if at a dog, "Staay! . . . Staay! . . . Stay!" They heel. The cop turns his back; they inch forward.

By now, the New York police are familiar with "Operation Rescue," which made its official debut in Manhattan last May. In the four days of sit-ins, organized by Randall Terry, a used-car salesman from Binghamton, New York, 1,600 people were arrested, including Adelle Nathanson (wife of Bernard Nathanson), Bishop Austin Vaughan, and Mark Bavaro, the tight end for the New York Giants (the cops all wanted his autograph).

"Have you noticed the footwear?" asks the doctor's wife, pointing toward the pro-choice hecklers who have gathered across the street. "It's like a uniform." She's right. The angry, chanting women all seem to be wearing black leather boots. Around their necks hang those broad, Senegalese scarves that resemble prayer shawls. None of them look as though they'll be picking up kids after school.

Back at the Planned Parenthood clinic, the rescuers sit on the sidewalk in windbreakers and plastic parkas with fake-fur fringes. Crepe-soled shoes abound. The women look solid and matronly—radical chic this ain't. It's no surprise that the rescuers appear to buy their clothing at K-Mart; statistically, the members of the National Abortion Rights Action League are considerably more affluent than the members of, say, the National Right to Life Committee.

The chanting of the counter-demonstrators is a mixture of contempt and rage: "Racist, sexist, anti-gay, / Born-again bigots, go away!"; "Hey hey! Ho ho! Christian fascists got to go!" As bystanders pray the rosary at one rescue, I hear a pro-choice heckler sneer repeatedly: "Mary was raped!"

Most rescuers are from the middle and lower-middle classes, but there is quite a variety: a graduate student from Columbia here, a Princeton undergraduate there; retired men; housewives with grown children; a clerk at a SoHo art gallery; a perfume salesgirl at Macy's. Higher-level professionals are rare, but the occasional real-estate or advertising executive shows up too.

Though many Roman Catholics are involved (the rescue movement's patron saint, Joan Andrews, is a devout Catholic), the common tongue of the rescue movement is Evangelicalese: everyone is a "brother"; the Lord Jesus is indefatigably praised; the name "Operation Rescue" itself is taken from the Scripture passage, "Rescue those who are being dragged to death" (Proverbs 24:11). For years it was easy to dismiss abortion as a strictly Catholic concern, but now, at your typical pre-rescue rally, Catholic nuns join evangelical pastors in prayer, and the *Ave Maria* mingles with fervent Alleluias. At the abortion clinics, the rescuers sit quietly, saying the rosary or singing spiritual songs from a pamphlet called "The Rescue Psalter." The police must feel as if they were arresting an inter-faith Sunday school.

Pro-choice hecklers and clinic personnel rarely use the word "abortion"; the preferred expression is "the procedure." When questioned, the director of the clinic in Dobbs Ferry, New York, offers a simple legal-positivist defense of abortion: "This is a matter of *legality*," she insists, adding, in an ambiguous afterthought, "We also deliver babies here."

Pro-choice advocates aren't the only people hostile to Operation Rescue. The nation's largest pro-life newspaper, *National Right to Life News* (published by the Washington-based National Right to Life Committee), refuses to report on Operation Rescue. The committee's president, Dr. Jack Willke, says the newspaper's policy is to cover only *legal* pro-life activities. In fact, rather than recognize the existence of Operation Rescue, the *NRL News* has dropped its claim to be "the pro-life newspaper of record," and the NRLC has attempted to force its state affiliates to expel any member who engages in illegal activity. The cool response by the right-to-life establishment has dismayed Operation Rescue's sympathizers: "It's as if the abolitionists had tried to close the Underground Railroad."

A NEW YORK leader of Operation Rescue, Chris Slattery, insists: "We're not here to protest. Our purpose is not to get arrested. Our goal is not civil disobedience." Their ethos has less in common with that of political radicals than with that of volunteer firemen: they want to save lives—at least for one day. The most important statistic for rescuers is not the number of rescuers or arrests; it's the number of pregnant women who turn from the abortion clinic to a pro-life pregnancy clinic. A Rescue spokesman, Julie Loesch, says that Operation Rescue uses nonviolent tactics because the only solution to abortion is to "change hearts," something violence is unlikely to do.

Operation Rescue's nonviolent assault on *Roe* v. *Wade* marks the emergence of two peculiar phenomena: conservative, suburban radicals, and a street-level alliance between Roman Catholics and hard-line Protestants. The confident new radicals have little in common with the liberal radicals of the Sixties and Seventies. Indeed, the two groups' profound irreconcilability is never more apparent than when they face each other outside an abortion clinic. —JOHN WAUCK

Mr. Wauck is a contributing editor of The Human Life Review.

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→ That was true of the elite culture of the knowledge class. On abortion, the elite culture took the more democratic culture by surprise. It was a while before the democratic culture was able to organize its response to the attack, but the last 16 years of the pro-life movement is the story of that stunningly effective response. Moreover, many in the elite culture who favored "abortion reform" in the 1960s were later repulsed by the reality of 1.5 million abortions per year. That, they began to say, was not what they had in mind at all.

The pro-life movement has benefited mightily by the recruitment or acquiescence of these "abortion reformers" of the 1960s who came to have second and third thoughts about abortion-as-contraception and the consequent debasement of human life and communal bonds. Witness today's changes in churches such as the Episcopal, United Methodist, and Presbyterian (U.S.A.). Once on the cutting edge of "abortion reform," they are now trying to make it clear that they are opposed to the present situation of "abortion on demand." Groups such as Presbyterians for Life and NOEL (National Organization of Episcopalians for Life), once marginal and barely tolerated in their church bodies, now have the initiative in changing their churches' positions on abortion. Then too, those churches that were "right from the start"—e.g., Roman Catholic, Missouri-Synod Lutheran, Southern Baptist—feel vindicated and possess a new confidence in the role that they have played and will play.

Many who favored 'abortion reform' in the 1960s were later repulsed by the reality of 1.5 million abortions per year. That, they said, was not what they had in mind at all.

The elite culture, once solidly pro-abortion, has been fragmented as the actual consequences of *Roe* have become brutally apparent. These cultural and class differences in the abortion debate were brilliantly analyzed several years ago by Kristin Luker in her *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*. Changes since Miss Luker's research have all moved in a direction favorable to the pro-life position. An examination of survey-research data over the last two decades indicates that there now seems to be a fairly stable set of popular viewpoints on abortion. About 20 per cent of respondents favor prohibiting abortion in every circumstance, somewhat less than 20 per cent support the existing unlimited "right" to abortion, and about 60 per cent say that unborn life should be legally protected, with some exceptions for hard cases. Explore what respondents mean by "hard cases," and it turns out that the exceptions would be very limited indeed.

No doubt there would be powerful cultural resistance to legal changes protecting the unborn. But the resistance would come overwhelmingly from sectors of the elite culture that are bitterly disappointed that the "judicial fiat" of *Roe* did not carry the day. In legislative battles in all fifty states, the result will be an intensification of the class-based *Kulturkampf* in which our public life is now embroiled. To call it a *Kulturkampf* is no exaggeration: it is a war over the moral definition of American culture.

Finally, we should examine assumptions about the political consequences of the coming struggle. Mr. Will says Republicans must retreat from their pro-life position or abandon their hopes of controlling state legislatures and thus of capturing the House of Representatives. The fortunes of the Republican Party are not among our chief concerns, but we suspect that Mr. Will may be in error here as well. In the 1988 presidential election as many as one-third of the voters said that abortion was their number-one concern—and that one-third overwhelmingly voted Republican. (And maybe more. It is well known that people tend to avoid giving "controversial" answers to pollsters. To say that abortion is your primary concern is to risk being controversial.) No doubt, as Mr. Will says, some people voted Republican *despite* the pro-life position of Reagan and Bush. The evidence, however, is that a great many people voted for Reagan and Bush *because of*—or at least *also* because of—their promise to work for the protection of the unborn.

A common lament of Republicans is that they cannot do their presidential trick in congressional and state races because Democrats there are shielded from the ideological issues that win nationally, such as abortion. It is more than arguable that returning the abortion question to the states may be precisely what the Republicans need.

Far from being settled, the abortion debate may now explode as it never has before. If the question is returned to the states, it might be thought that the pro-choice proponents are pretty much in the position they were in back in the Sixties, pressing for the most "liberal" abortion laws they can get. But that will not be the case. Now they will no longer be the vanguard advocating what is new and progressive. They will be the old guard, urging a return to the discredited *status quo ante* under *Roe* v. *Wade*. The pro-life proponents, on the other hand, cannot now be taken by surprise. They are formidably organized, they have thousands of seasoned activists, and they possess the confidence that comes from having taken on the establishments and, against all odds, won. More than that, they are convinced that they are on the side of the angels, and they believe that most of the American people are too. To be sure, the pro-life movement could still snatch defeat from the jaws of victory, but it would have to work at it.

We are told that, after *Roe*, we will need a civil debate about splitting differences, and there is truth in that. But a civil debate about splitting differences can only happen on the basis of an acknowledgment that the chief difference has already been split. The difference between those who do and those who do not recognize "the moral significance and hence the proper legal status of life in its early stages" has already been split, and it has been split in favor of the pro-life position. The outcome of that split will, we expect, soon be ratified by the Supreme Court and then by the great majority of state legislatures. We cannot know precisely what this will mean for abortion law and other measures aimed at protecting vulnerable human life. We can be certain that there will be continuing argument and continuing conflict. Debate that is civil need not preclude passion, and the coming contests will be passionate. At stake is what we believe about the unborn, but also what we believe about ourselves and the communities of which we are part. □

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In reply to stones thrown in 'The War between Paleos and Neos,'
a Paleo hurls back his own philippics.
Who's Right? asks Mr. Francis.
I am, retorts Professor van den Haag.

PALEOLITHICS

INHOSPITABLE NEOS

SAMUEL FRANCIS

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG has been an active and valuable voice in American conservatism for over thirty years, and no one on the Right would seem to be better qualified to survey the battlefields of "the war between Paleos and Neos" and to reconcile the opposing sides. Yet his account of the conflict [Feb. 24] is that of a partisan, not an even-handed elder statesman. His characterization of the Old Right, or "Paleoconservatives," is subtly inaccurate and misleading, and his conclusion—that the Paleos are to blame for the war and had better surrender before they jeopardize the larger crusade against the Left—casts the Old Right as the agents of a "petty and counterproductive" resentment and seeks to legitimize Neoconservatism as the authentic American Right.

Nowhere in his article does Mr. van den Haag refer to the long series of slights, slanders, and backhanded power-plays that some Neoconservatives, in the view of many Paleos, have directed at the Old Right. The smear campaign against M. E. Bradford in 1981 over his appointment to the chairmanship of the National Endowment for the Humanities is perhaps the best-known such incident, but almost every Old Rightist can detail others of a similar character. Such tactics were generally unknown to intraconservative disputes before the last decade, and, more than any "sectarian" purism on the part of Old Right ideologues, they help explain the Paleo-Neo war and the continuing suspicion in which many Paleos hold their Neo cousins.

Mr. van den Haag tends to minimize ideological distinctions among Neos and Paleos and to emphasize what he calls "sociological" differences between them. Yet his "sociology" is really a polemical weapon. By depicting Paleos as a breed of Babbitts and Dan Quayles of liberal folklore, who inherited their ideology along with their golf clubs, he tries to dismiss them intellectually. By contrast, "the Neos became anti-Communists and finally conservatives not by inheritance, but by conversion," and "some of the Neos have thought more deeply and systematically about their new beliefs than most of those who absorbed them at their father's knee."

But the conflict between Paleos and Neos has largely been one among intellectuals, and the Old Right intelligentsia certainly did not inherit its ideas (or indeed much wealth) from its forebears. The biographies of James Burnham, Frank Meyer, Willmoore Kendall, Whittaker Chambers, and Richard Weaver, among others, should testify to this fact. All were Old Right intellectuals whom contemporary Paleo intellectuals respect, and most passed through the crucible of Communism or far-Left ideology before they forged their anti-Communism and their various formulations of conservatism.

How Clean a Break?

I AM NOT aware of too many Neos who were as seriously involved with the hard Left as many of the older Paleos were, nor, despite the maturation of the "second-thoughts" generation, do I know of too many who agonized over their intellectual and spiritual break with the Left as those of the Old Right did. The most representative Neos, it seems, emerged from the liberal Left, a persuasion that, because of its deep permeation of the dominant American culture, is often more difficult to extirpate from the mind than outright Marxism. Philosophically, the main Old Right charge against the Neos has been that they have not entirely broken with that persuasion; that, consciously or unconsciously, they retain what James Burnham called the "emotional gestalt of liberalism," despite their overt rupture with its formal doctrines and policies.

When Mr. van den Haag gets to the Paleos' "intellectual leaders," it is only to relegate them to the old curiosity shop. They "trace the legitimacy of their beliefs to the past. Not uncommonly they are *laudatores temporis acti.* Some are romantic medievalists, others Aristotelians, or followers of Thomas Aquinas, Edmund Burke, and Samuel Johnson. Nothing wrong with these mentors; but, perhaps, they are a little too distant from industrial society to have the answers to current problems." Perhaps they are—if, as the liberal Left believes, the nature of man and society

Mr. Francis is deputy editorial-page editor of the Washington Times.

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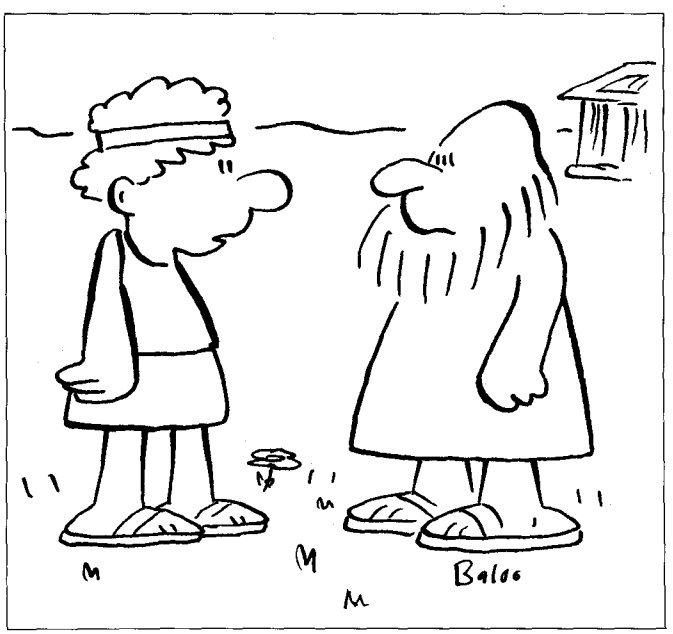
changes in accordance with economic and social structures. That is one of the presuppositions that Old Right intellectuals exorcised from their minds. Perhaps the Neos haven't.

Mr. van den Haag is in error when he says Edmund Burke "unhelpfully described capitalism as the age of 'sophisters, economists, and calculators.'" Russell Kirk has generally emphasized the agreement of Burke and Adam Smith on economic matters, and F. A. Hayek has generally been sympathetic to Burke. In fact, Burke was describing the attack on Marie Antoinette by a revolutionary mob, and his phrase refers to the brutal misapplication of economic and utilitarian standards to social, political, moral, and aesthetic institutions. Unlike the liberal Left, Burke did not subscribe to a materialistic reductionism, and that too is one of the premises that the Old Right has been careful to uproot from its thought.

Mr. van den Haag also seems to equate "conservatism" with "democracy and capitalism," though neither term is defined, and the Neos' adherence to them is taken as proof of the legitimacy of their conservatism. Yet Paleoconservatives (and most conservatives throughout history) have been skeptical of "democracy." If Mr. van den Haag and the Neos mean by the term the kind of constitutional republic the Framers established, there is no disagreement. But it should be noted that a) James Madison specifically distinguished between a republic and a democracy in the *Federalist Papers* and b) it is not clear that the United States today retains the form of government the Framers intended. If "democracy" means what it generally has meant—the unrestricted rule of the majority—then the Old Right dissents. If it means the kind of "social democracy" that Sidney Hook and Andrei Sakharov endorse, then there must be a lot more discussion about what kind of conservatives the Neos are.

The Old Right has generally supported the rule of law and the rights of property rather than any specific political and economic system. Hence, Paleoconservatives have generally opposed the civil-rights movement because it sought the legislative creation of rights derived from a fallible conscience rather than from a historic consensus ratified through deliberate constitutional processes. They also opposed the welfare state because it violated historically recognized property rights for the goals of "economic justice" and collective affluence. Neoconservative economic thought has tended to replace both Old Right and libertarian concerns about property and freedom by a preoccupation with economic growth and national prosperity. Perhaps the sophisters and calculators remain amongst us.



"Sorry, Plato, but I've decided to study medicine with Hippocrates instead—there just isn't enough money in philosophy."

Thin Gruel

MR. VAN DEN HAAG also makes much of the different priorities of Neos and Paleos, contrasting the secularism of the former with the "transcendent moral order" emphasized by the latter. The distinction is generally valid, though some Paleos are not religious at all. But Mr. van den Haag misses the point of the distinction. No one denies that regimes acknowledging a transcendent moral order can be and sometimes have been cruel and oppressive or that purely secular states can be benevolent. The Old Right point is that the recognition of a transcendent moral order at least allows for an ethical criticism and eventual change of the flaws of the secular regime, while the denial of such an order removes the ground of such a critique. The state that denies there is anything higher than its will is likely to be an unpleasant one sooner or later, given the well-known proclivities of human nature. Certainly it is true that "a regime influenced by the secular Andrei Sakharov, or by the religious Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, would be an immense improvement over any Communist one." So would a regime run by Olof Palme or Harold Wilson, but no real conservative would be satisfied with it, and the secularist social-democratic state that Mr. van den Haag seems to prefer would be unable to recognize any higher restraint on the manipulation of its citizens.

Virtually all Old Rightists would agree with the Neos that "religion" is "necessary" and would acknowledge its "social functions." Eating also is necessary and serves a social function, but that doesn't tell you what or how much to eat. If the Neos have nothing more to say about the role of religion in society than this, their contributions are thin gruel indeed.

Mr. van den Haag ends his account with an appeal for unity among conservatives that is really an invitation to the Paleos to fold their flags. It is quite true that Neos and Paleos agree on many policy (and even philosophical) issues, but there remain significant differences among them. There should be no reason why the two cannot bloody each other in debate but learn from each other and continue to cooperate politically. The conservative movement has long welcomed internal disagreement—among libertarians and traditionalists, historicists and apostles of the natural law, Bradfordites and Jaffaites, even among free-marketeers and a Keynesian conservative. But the Neos themselves do not seem to welcome this kind of exchange or understand how to conduct it.

The Neos seem to be no less uncomfortable with the Paleos than the Paleos are with the Neos, and however "inclusive and latitudinarian" the Neos may be toward each other, Paleos have not found them particularly hospi-

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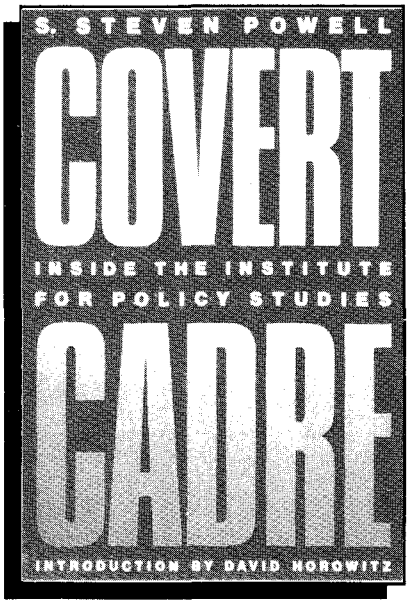

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table. Neoconservative influence is dominant at various philanthropic foundations, but Paleoconservatives' grant proposals have often been refused. Such institutions frequently have endowed well-paid academic chairs for Neoconservative scholars, while lifelong Paleoconservative intellectuals must scrape and hoe to sustain themselves in the twilight of their careers. Neoconservatives sponsor many academic and think-tank seminars, but Paleoconservatives are seldom invited. One of the few efforts to bring Neos and Paleos together to air their differences occurred at the meeting of the Philadelphia Society in 1986. It was organized by Paleos, and ended with Neo accusations (generally whispered in private after the event) of racism, anti-Semitism, and extremism. In short, the mindset of the Neos toward the Paleos is pretty much the same as that of liberals and the Left toward conservatives. The Neos seem to think the Paleos are "the stupid party," if not actually dangerous.

Yet Neoconservatism is itself something of a danger to the conservative coalition because, through their replication of liberal-Left premises in contemporary policy debates, the Neos may undermine the intellectual opposition to a dominant liberalism. Coalitions and elections will come and go, but only if a coherent and genuinely anti-liberal conservatism persists can the Right hope to preserve the basis for future coalitions and electoral victories. The Neos ought to examine their own presuppositions more deeply than they seem to have done and show themselves a bit more willing to learn from a school that has been around rather longer than some of them. □

OVERSENSITIVE PALEOS

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

MR. FRANCIS'S reply is interesting, but saddening because full of misunderstandings and even misrepresentations, often rancorous, which overwhelm the genuine issues. I did not "blame" Paleos for their "war" with Neos, as Mr. Francis contends, but tried to explain it, which leads him to charge me with being "subtly inaccurate and misleading." If so, it would be quite unintentional. But he offers no convincing evidence.

Mr. Francis charges that Neoconservatives "seem to prefer a social-democratic state." But anyone who does is not a Neoconservative, wherefore I pointed out that my friend Sidney Hook is not. Mr. Francis's idea that Neos support the welfare state will be news to Charles Murray (and me). He also misrepresents and willfully misleads when he asserts "no real conservative would be satisfied" with a Communist Soviet Union influenced by Sakharov, suggesting that I would, because I think it "an improvement." But something better is better and not therefore good. Why invent factitious issues?

Mr. Francis believes that only the "recognition of a transcendent moral order allows for an ethical criticism" of government practices. So do other principles, be they Randian or humanitarian. "Denial" of a transcendent moral order does not, as he fears, "remove" the ground for such a "critique" but only removes the religious ground. There are better arguments for religion and for its actual social function. Yet he thinks it "thin gruel" to say, as I did, that religion has a social function, since "eating also serves a social function" (actually, eating serves a biological need, not a social function) and "that doesn't tell you what, or how much, to eat." It doesn't. Why should it?

Mr. Francis sees a conflict between "collective affluence" or "economic growth and national prosperity" (which Neos are supposed to have a "preoccupation" with) and the "property and freedom" preferred by the Paleos. I thought all conservatives realized that prosperity largely depends on property and freedom, and cannot be increased by curtailing either.

They Are Wrong

NEOS, ACCORDING TO Mr. Francis, believe that "the nature of man and society changes in accordance with economic and social structures." Well . . . human conduct certainly is affected by environmental and genetic factors, and therefore is malleable, although not infinitely so. Perhaps Mr. Francis *defines* "the nature of man" as that which is unchanging. In that case it doesn't change. But such definitions are idle. He also opposes (I suspect because of misunderstanding Hayek) "the legislative creation of rights derived from fallible conscience rather than from a historic consensus." Thinking of slavery, torture, etc. I don't find the latter less "fallible" than the former. (And how do we get rights, if not by "legislative creation"? Historic consensus, as well as moral, a/k/a natural, rights are actually claims, which became rights only by "legislative creation." Some Neos or Paleos differ with me on rights. They are wrong, of course; but it is not a Neo-Paleo issue.)

The meaning of words changes. "Democracy" now refers to what Madison called "Republic" and not to "unrestricted rule of the majority," historical pedantry notwithstanding. Mr. Francis wanted definitions. Here goes: Democracy is a system that *permanently* guarantees the (negative) freedoms needed for political minorities to become majorities and to peacefully replace the government. Since the guarantee is permanent, the majority cannot be "unrestricted." Capitalism allows people to own and transfer goods and services through a free market.

Edmund Burke needs no defense. But, as I pointed out, he was fallible as a prophet. In general, the eternal verities, however necessary, are not sufficient to run a government, although some Paleos reiterate them on every occasion as though they were. "Materialistic reductionism" is a sonorous phrase (though reductionist materialism would make more sense) but I know no conservative guilty of it as charged by Mr. Francis.

M. E. Bradford, although qualified in my opinion, could not have been confirmed as chairman of NEH. (This happens to many qualified people.) To blame the Neos for this is sheer paranoia and illustrates, I fear, the obsession of some Paleos with lost causes, and with blaming imaginary enemies when reality intrudes.

I do not oppose debate, nor think Paleos "the stupid party," as Mr. Francis surmises. His response does suggest that I underestimated the sectarianism still to be confronted. For this I am grateful. □

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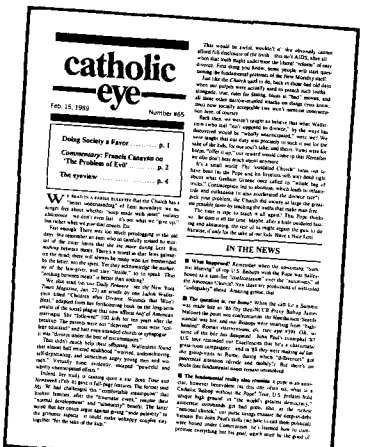
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IN THE NEWS

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USELESS INFORMATION

Joseph Sobran

Loyalties: A Son's Memoir, by Carl Bernstein (Simon & Schuster, 262 pp., $18.95)

NOTHING QUITE puts the damper on a happy boyhood like seeing your mother exposed as a Communist on the front page of the local paper. That's what happened to Carl Bernstein in 1954, when he was ten. The picture showed Sylvia Bernstein being sworn in before the House Un-American Activities Committee, with the headline "D.C. Housewife Takes Fifth."

By the time he was eight Carl knew that Al and Sylvia were Communists. He had asked Al: "Dad, are you a Communist?" The answer was a long, painful silence. It was the McCarthy era; everyone, even little boys, knew that being a Communist was bad. Both Al and Sylvia were exposed and called before HUAC. Al lost his job as a union lawyer and opened a laundry to make ends meet.

A lot of the Bernsteins' friends were Communists too, and Carl went into his own form of adolescent rebellion: a chaotic mixture of patriotism, religion, minor delinquency, and liberal activism. To his irreligious parents' dismay, he insisted on having a Bar Mitzvah. He accused them of being "atheistic Jewish Communists." Being literate, educated people, they were also upset when he refused to go to college. After high school he took a job with a New Jersey newspaper. By his late twenties he was a famous reporter at the *Washington Post*, where he and Bob Woodward led the Watergate exposé and helped topple the ancient enemy of the American Left, Richard Nixon.

Whether or not Al and Sylvia deserved to be stigmatized, Carl didn't. And, in fact, apart from a few fights at school, their exposure cost him little in the real world. But he naturally carried a burning secret shame inside him long after people outside the family had forgotten all about it. (The scandal didn't even damage relations between Al Bernstein and his Republican neighbor, the economist Herbert Stein, who continued to be as pleasant as ever to the whole family.)

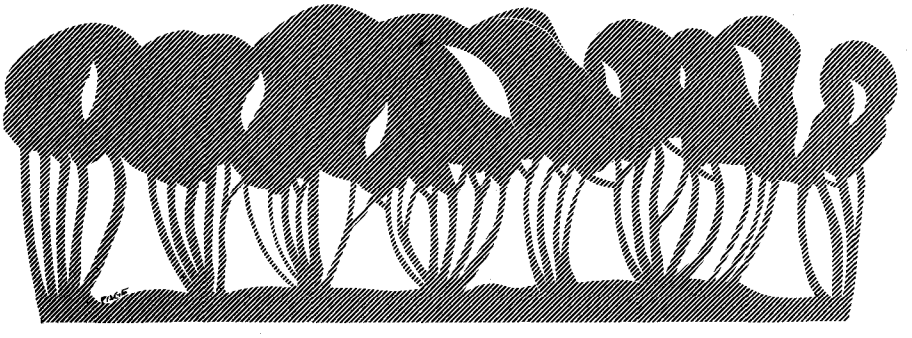
The affair hung unresolved in Carl's psyche after he was rich and famous. He tried to write this book years ago, but couldn't face it. Besides, Al and Sylvia resisted. Al considered his former politics "private." He warned his son: "You're going to prove McCarthy right, because all he was saying was that the system was loaded with Communists. And he was right." He insisted that the real target of the investigations was "liberals."

As Al tells it, the fact that McCarthy was literally right is irrelevant. He had been a union organizer and a civil-rights advocate whose Communist Party membership (he joined in 1942) was peripheral to his real concerns. But he does not expect the public, which was still preoccupied with "all that Stalinist crap," to understand.

Carl wanted to believe him, but was skeptical. Being a reporter, he got hold of the thousands of pages of FBI records of surveillance on Al and Sylvia. All the information was consistent with what they had told him about their activities. There was no evidence that they had engaged in subversive activities. He concludes that it was all, indeed, a "witch hunt."

It's understandable, of course, that Bernstein wants to clear his parents' name, and understandable that they'd just as soon he'd drop the whole subject. Consider this passage:

> It is the virulence of some of their friends' criticism of America, that unchanging element of the Party line—the venom with which I have heard them sometimes assert the Soviet view of America—that, since I was a child, has always alienated me, infuriated me, and, I realize now, frightened me. I have always held tightly to the belief that what distinguishes my parents from some of their



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friends is the *absence* of this poisonous point of view.

Virulence, venom, poisonous: it's good that the senior Bernsteins didn't share this "point of view," which is, after all, the spirit of treason. But those who held it were natural candidates for investigation at a time when "the system was loaded with Communists," not all of whom were civil-rights workers (just as not all civil-rights workers were Communists). *Loyalties* hardly mentions Stalin or the Rosenbergs, and never refers to Alger Hiss and others who *were* in a position to do harm.

That the FBI gathered an enormous amount of useless information comes as no surprise. That's what bureaucracies do. In this case, the subject of inquiry was a secretive organization for which, given its purposes, the word "private" hardly seems apt.

Bernstein's feelings are understandable too. When his parents and their friends kept a vigil during the Rosenbergs' execution, he was hysterical with fear that his own parents were going to be killed too. And he blamed them for courting death. Later, just as naturally, he felt guilty at having been so angry at them. *Loyalties* is the book all those feelings produced.

It's a son's book, and despite Al and Sylvia's apprehensions, it isn't a piece of adversary journalism. Unfortunately, it's not even a piece of satisfying investigative journalism. It's a book about feelings.

Carl Bernstein interviewed dozens of old Communists to get their side of the story. He apparently didn't talk to any old investigators of Communists, who may have their stories too. Only the home team gets a human face in this account, as if the whole McCarthy era had taken place in the Bernsteins' neighborhood.

Once upon a time, "McCarthyism" meant false accusations of Communism. By the same kind of elision that has reversed the original meaning of terms like "civil rights," the word has now come to mean *any* accusation of Communism, true *or* false. The rules of the victims-of-McCarthyism genre dictate that all sympathy is due to those who were wrong about Communism and no mercy may be shown to those who were right.

As an assessment of the McCarthy period, *Loyalties* won't do. Whether you'll want to read it depends entirely on how much you want to know about Al and Sylvia Bernstein. □

THE FOE IN PLAIN VIEW

Tom Bethell

Prepared for the Worst: Selected Essays & Minority Reports, by Christopher Hitchens (Hill & Wang, 357 pp., $19.95)

I MET Christopher Hitchens a year ago at Stanford University, strolling across the campus with a glass of red wine in his hand, en route to a terrorism conference. Unusually even for Stanford, everyone present seemed to be pro-terrorism, and from Hitchens the subject received a particularly witty defense. (The word itself "carries a conservative freight," has "no meaning and no definition," and so on. How the assembled professoriate gurgled with delight! This was before the Ayatollah put his foot in it by terrorizing Hitchens's left-wing friend Salman Rushdie.) Later that afternoon Hitchens told me he had recently discovered that he was a Jew. In England, his 92-year-old maternal grandmother (née Blumenthal) had told him about his family background in nineteenth-century Breslau. His recently deceased father, a commander in the Royal Navy, apparently was never told.

"On hearing the news," Hitchens writes in the final and most interesting piece in this collection of his journalism, "I was pleased to find that I was pleased . . . My initial reaction, apart from pleasure and interest, was the faint but definite feeling that I had somehow known all along."

Hitchens told me that he would now inevitably be dismissed by his Neoconservative "enemies" as a "self-hating Jew." And indeed he is a tireless promoter of the Palestinian cause, an admirer of Chomsky, Shahak, Timerman, & Co., and endlessly dismayed that Israel refuses to see its Arab neighbors as a civil-rights movement writ large. Hitchens himself puts Rabbi Meir Kahane into the self-hating category.

There's one news analysis program considered "can't miss" by Washington officials. The McLaughlin Group.

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RANDOM NOTES

☐ Out in April: *Cocaine: White Gold Rush in Peru* (Arizona, $24.95), by Edmundo N. Morales, is an interesting and well-researched study by a native Peruvian who is also a sociologist currently employed in New York State's Division of Substance Abuse Services. In Morales's opinion, plans being drawn up by the U.S. and various international agencies to do away with the coca-farming industry are not only impractical but impossible; in place of this policy, he suggests the scarcely less difficult solution of buying up the total coca crop. . . . In *Kings of Cocaine: Inside the Medellín Cartel* (Simon & Schuster, $19.95), Guy Gugliotta and Jeffrey Leen have expanded upon their famous series of articles published in the *Miami Herald* to produce a fascinating and compelling account of the operations of the Colombian cartel, which originally enjoyed the favor of the Colombian government and today, through its several thousand employees, controls 80 per cent of the international cocaine market.

The Master Spy: The Story of Kim Philby (Knopf, $19.95), by Phillip Knightley, is a startling volume based on a series of interviews the author conducted with Kim Philby shortly before Philby's death in 1988, and from which he has extracted much remarkable information, including an account of a botched covert investigation by J. Edgar Hoover. According to Knightley, the British spy—who discourses here on the subjects of personal honor and the nature of patriotism—died serene and unrepentant. . . . In *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* (Oxford, $24.95), William H. McNeill reconsiders the controversial English historian's character and writings, concluding that his work—now more or less out of fashion—must be appreciated for its poetic vision rather than for its contribution to historical scholarship.

On the Firing Line: The Public Life of Our Public Figures (Random House, $22.50), by William F. Buckley Jr. and with an introduction by Alistair Cooke, consists of vivid exchanges between WFB and his varied roster of guests over the years (*Firing Line* is now 23 years old!), introduced and commented upon by the host himself. —CW

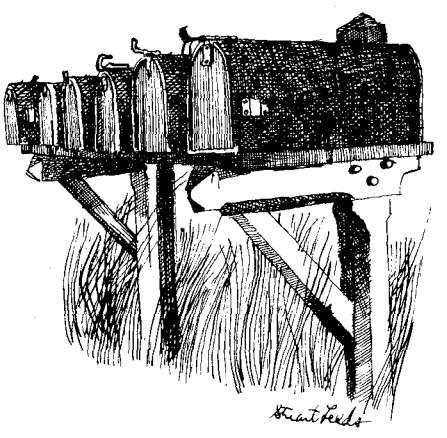
More useful than "self-hating," however, is the category "non-believing." Kahane is a believing Jew, Hitchens (as he tells us time and again) is non-believing. He is a believing socialist. He quotes G. K. Chesterton's famous line about the credulity of those who cease to believe in God, but might have added that in the past hundred years the agnostic has not believed in anything so much as in socialism. Hitchens writes of the "sickening disillusionments that have, in the last generation, led socialists to dilute or abandon their faith." Hitchens has kept his faith.

He quotes an Argentinian, "an ideologue of the junta": "Argentina has three main enemies: Karl Marx, because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of society; Sigmund Freud, because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of the family; and Albert Einstein, because he tried to destroy the Christian concept of time and space."

"Here was the foe in plain view," Hitchens writes. "Here were all my adopted godfathers in plain view as well: the three great anchors of the modern revolutionary intelligence. It was for this reason that, on the few occasions on which I had been asked if I was Jewish, I had been sad to say no, and even perhaps slightly jealous."

Not for Hitchens is the latter-day union of socialism and heretical Christianity: the liberated theologian, the "trendy encyclical," the "bland ecumenical exhortation." He wants that old nineteenth-century religion that tried to banish God altogether. And here he scores a bull's-eye: "The apologetic 'modern Christian' who argues faintly that of course the Bible isn't meant to be taken literally is saying that it isn't the word of God. He is thereby revising his faith out of existence. If the religious have so few real convictions left, why are socialists supposed to defer to their insights?"

Unusually for a socialist, Hitchens makes explicit the connection between his faith and the loss of religious faith. He quotes from the conclusion of Michael Harrington's book *The Politics at God's Funeral*: "Men and women of faith and anti-faith should, in the secular realm at least, stop fighting one another and begin to work together to introduce moral dimensions into economic and social debate." Hitchens finds this "very insipid," adding: "Neither believers nor unbelievers need to give up anything if they want to join the battle for socialism. But if the religious promise is good or true, then there is no absolute need for socialism . . . That the two schools should 'stop fighting' is, fortunately, impossible. If it were possible, it would not be desirable."



Many in the media adopt a leftish pose out of opportunism, seeing in it camouflage for wealth and a shield against envy. This may not be true in Hitchens's case. One senses that he would be only too happy not to be aligned with the Gorby-loving literati. Nonetheless, one problem with many of these pieces—reprinted from, among other publications, *Grand Street*, *In These Times*, *Raritan*, *Mother Jones*, *The Nation*, *Harper's*—is that Hitchens's attitudes for the most part *are* fashionable, whether he likes it or not, and therefore repetitious. (The *Crisis* interview in which he states his anomalous opposition to abortion is not included.)

He finds in *Brideshead Revisited* "deplorable attitudes to women," in India ("behind the imposing British-built law courts") "as fine a stew of misery and deprivation as you could wish to find"; he judges Nixon to be "sordid," Nicaragua (home of poets) "extraordinarily beautiful," El Salvador repressive (he means not yet socialist). And the following meet with his disapproval: the CIA, the Korean CIA, Ferdinand Marcos, fascism, Ronald Reagan (Teflon-coated, Hitchens tells us), Ollie North, Bill Casey, and (I almost forgot) Ed Meese. Such a redundant litany of rebuke, which I could have made twice as long, does not do justice to Hitchens's undoubted intelligence. It also raises the question whether an intelligent defense of socialism is possible at this late stage.

His longer pieces hold more promise, and I turned with real interest to "Holy Land Heretic," apparently a profile of Israel Shahak, the left-wing chemistry professor who spends a good deal of time publicly denouncing the "Nazi-like" tendencies of his Israeli

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colleagues. But here one encounters another Hitchens fault: a great reluctance to do reporting. Evidently he spent a week with Shahak in Jerusalem but he never brings the man, or Israel itself, to life. The Hitchens style is relentlessly argumentative and analytical, rarely expository. His articles are filled with allusions to travels made and missions completed, but usually he has little more than *TimesLitSupp*-style analysis to show for it. His reporting seems to draw almost exclusively on materials available in North East Washington, D.C., the unromantic spot where he lives.

He longs for the day when collectivist arrangements are voluntarily entered into—that is, when human nature is transformed. He seems to believe that this will yet happen. He concludes: "I can supposedly redeem myself by moving into the Jerusalem home from which my friend Edward Said has been evicted. We must be able to do better than that. We still live in the prehistory of the human race, where no tribalism can be much better than another and where humanism and internationalism, so much derided and betrayed, need an unsentimental and decisive restatement."

He should be prepared for the worst, as the title of his book tells us that he is, for this "restatement" is likely to take the form of global capitalism, both humanistic and international. □

A SELECTIVE REALIST

Elie Kedourie

Passion and Cunning: Essays on Nationalism, Terrorism, and Revolution (Simon & Schuster, 304 pp., $18.95)

Conor Cruise O'Brien has had a varied career: as writer, diplomat, academic, member of the Irish parliament, Cabinet minister, and editor (of the London *Observer*), in turn. In *Who's Who* he lists traveling as his recreation. As this new collection of essays demonstrates, his writing has benefited from these varied experiences: it is acute, astringent, witty, well-informed, and scholarly.

As the book's subtitle indicates, Mr. O'Brien is much concerned with those features of politics—nationalism, terrorism, and revolution—that have come

In 1977, the House of Representatives voted to allow television coverage of its proceedings. Bob Rosencrans was then president of a large cable company known as UA-Columbia. The idea of creating a public affairs network on cable to televise Congress was being widely discussed. It seemed like a risky proposal to many industry leaders. Nevertheless, Bob believed the time was right for the cable television industry to demonstrate its commitment to public service.

The son of Russian and Austrian immigrants, Bob Rosencrans grew up in New York during the New Deal and World War II. "We were a very idealistic family," he recalls. So much so that his own idealism endured despite the loss of his older brother in combat. Since then, he says, "I still look for the better side of people."

While many saw the value of a public affairs network, Bob and his business associate, Ken Gunter, were ready to move ahead. Together they made the initial contribution to start C-SPAN. What better gift, they asked, could this growing private industry make to the American people than live gavel-to-gavel coverage of the United States Congress?

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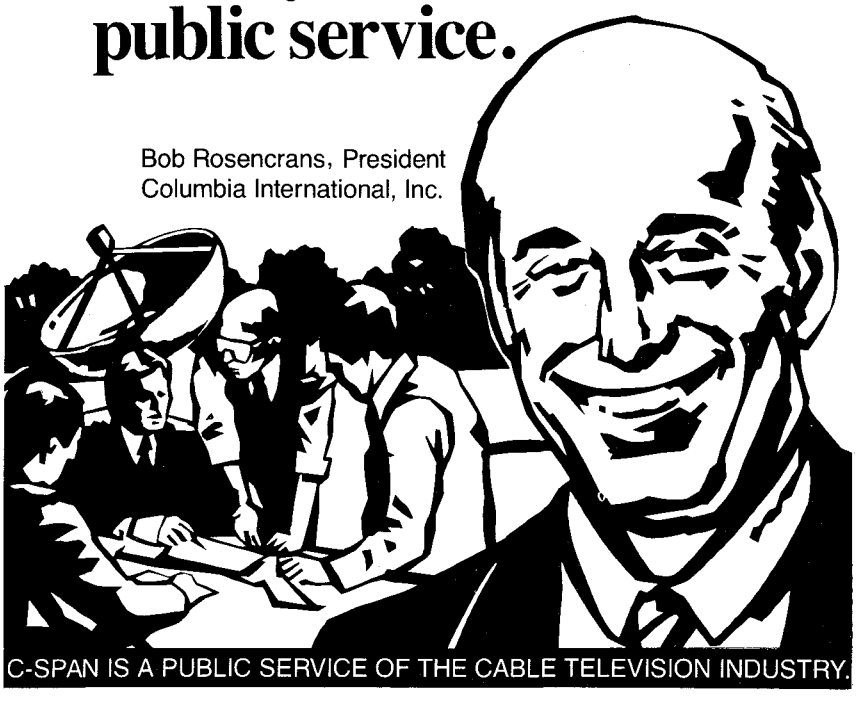

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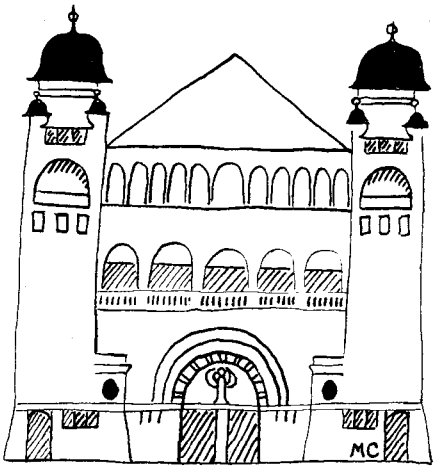
to the fore in a world barely emerging from the shambles of 1914–1918 and 1939–1945, a world that continues to emulate the fanaticism, the ideological excess, and the horror let loose during the course of those two conflicts.

As an Irishman, he knows these features of the contemporary scene at close quarters. In three essays concerning the history and character of Irish nationalism, Mr. O'Brien is clear-eyed and blunt in his estimate of the present struggle in Northern Ireland:

> Readers may ask what solution to the problem I envisage? None. I think the language of "problem" and "solution" is inappropriate to the case. What we have here is a *conflict*, which is likely to continue as long as the island of Ireland contains both a large Ulster Protestant community, and a significant and determined minority of Irish Republicans, with a hold on the Catholic community.

This being the case, tinkering will not improve the situation—and Mr. O'Brien has no doubts that the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985, the "Hillsborough Agreement," should be included under this rubric. The agreement legitimized intervention by the Dublin government in the affairs of Northern Ireland. The hope, on the British side, was that, by a quid pro quo, Dublin would be more helpful in the struggle against the IRA, and that the Catholics of Northern Ireland would become less supportive of that organization, eventually being moved to collaborate with the Protestant majority in the government of the province. But this was, and remains, a vain hope. The Protestants have felt profoundly threatened by the agreement, suspecting it to be the prelude to a British decision to abandon Northern Ireland and a "sellout" to the Republic. This has made them less, rather than more, willing to envision an accommodation with the Catholics, and has thus ironically worked to exacerbate tensions. The Catholics, on the other hand, have not felt that the agreement provided any reason for them to abandon their nationalist dreams. On the contrary: the agreement could be the prelude to a greater role for Dublin in the Six Counties. As for the IRA, the agreement has not visibly lessened its ability or readiness to mount attacks on the police, the army, or civilians.

Here, then, Mr. O'Brien is utterly free from illusion: the world is what it



is; why should we pretend otherwise? Yet when he comes to consider conflicts just as poisoned as that in Northern Ireland or ideologies just as categorical as that of *Sinn Féin*, he seems to adopt a somewhat different stance. In a long piece on the prospects for peace in South Africa, he calls himself a white liberal, albeit of the sub-species *Homo Candidus Liberalis Pessimisticus*. It is this liberalism, perhaps, that leads him to speculate that the problems of South Africa—infinitely more serious, complicated, and embittered than those of Northern Ireland—might in the end be solved by a superpower consensus which would prepare a transition from white to black rule. What might then happen, he speculates, is that the black government would win the support of the black middle class—more numerous in South Africa than anywhere else on the continent. It would, however, face a challenge from all the "outs" of black society, including the politicized unemployed, and perhaps also the lower ranks of a now expanded and predominantly black South African army. "In these conditions the new black government would need such allies as it could find. And it would be likely to find allies among the whites. A multiracial coalition, probably a tacit one, could be expected to emerge: a coalition of all those with something to lose, whatever the color of their skin."

All this, it has to be said, is whistling in the dark. What reason do we have, except our natural revulsion for other much more likely outcomes, to entertain such consolatory dreams? Mr. O'Brien cites the Katanga episode, which he knows at first hand, as an example of the efficacy of superpower consensus. But is there any reason to admire the outcome of superpower consensus and Dag Hammarskjöld's handiwork as it may be seen in Zaire under the rule—if that is the right word—of Mobutu Sese Seko?

The reader is likewise perplexed by a long piece on "God and Man in Nicaragua." Mr. O'Brien may be right in warning against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua. What one must question is the grounds on which such warnings are justified. The justification Mr. O'Brien offers is that the Sandinistas are nationalists rather than Marxist-Leninists. It is because they have been pushed by Washington, he says, that they have taken refuge with Moscow, as "the only alternative." But why did Washington push in the first place? When the Sandinistas toppled Somoza they enjoyed much good will in the United States, but then it began to be feared, not without reason, that the new regime in Managua had grandiose revolutionary ambitions, and that it would join with Cuba in helping Communists to destabilize El Salvador and other Central American countries.

Now, the Sandinistas may be nationalists, or they may be Marxists, or both. But even assuming they are primarily nationalists, is there any reason to believe that their particular ideology is any less dangerous or destabilizing than, say, that of *Sinn Féin*?

If the bleakness of Northern Ireland can be properly appraised only by a cold and bleak lucidity, the same must hold true for South Africa and Nicaragua. To quote Yeats, whose vision of politics transcended Anglo-Irish hatred: the only proper stance toward these murderous conflicts on the part of the onlooker is to expect nothing either from "slaves that were spat on" or "tyrants that spat." □

DEATHWATCH

Juliana Geran Pilon

The Crisis of Marxist Ideology in Eastern Europe, by Vladimir Tismaneanu (Routledge, 208 pp., $35)

PROCLAMATIONS of the death of Marxist ideology in Eastern Europe run solidly into two powerful objections. On the one hand, how can Marxism be said to have died when it was never fully alive in the captive

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nations, imposed as it was by their Soviet "liberators"? But in another sense, Marxism does live, and will continue to do so, as the sole means by which the region's extremely unpopular dictators can legitimate their rule. Until these dictators fall, Marxism of some kind will not be allowed to die.

Fully aware of this dilemma, Vladimir Tismaneanu has written a sophisticated yet highly readable analysis of the present crisis in Eastern Europe. As Tismaneanu demonstrates, the perverse idealism of earlier Marxist ideology, though not dead, has degenerated into an uneasy mixture of demagoguery, monotonous platitudes, and nakedly opportunistic excuses for a class structure no less rigid than that of feudalism. This is probably the best analysis of Marxist philosophy since Leszek Kolakowski's monumental trilogy, *Main Currents of Marxism.*

And it could not have come at a better time. Today, the promise of *glasnost* and *perestroika* appears to have concealed from many Western observers the bankruptcy of the Marxist system. Meanwhile, the fact that the crudest forms of Stalinism have been discarded obscures the corrosive effects of the quiet terror produced by the drab uniformity of human existence behind the rusting, but still secure, Iron Curtain.

As Tismaneanu sees it, Eastern Europe is today a collection of "post-totalitarian" regimes where repression is "more refined, less obvious, but by no means less effective" than in the pre-Gorbachev era. Despite occasional appearances to the contrary, the individual continues to be enslaved in the name of his own freedom.

The conclusions Tismaneanu draws from his analysis are unassailable. As for the method of that analysis, the reader should be warned that, like many other European intellectuals, Tismaneanu engages in a form of psychohistorical speculation of which one would normally be wary. This approach, however, is essential to understanding the continuing appeal of Marxism. Tismaneanu explains, for example, how Bolshevism capitalized on its followers' apparent need to comply with authority, producing in them the masochistic conviction that life is meaningless without the Party. "The infantilization of the militants," he writes, "was the precondition for the inducement of a real voluptuosity in enslavement"—a necessary prerequisite to the kind of political blindness that keeps Party members from perceiving the chasm between their utopian fantasies and the lurid reality of Stalinism.

Given both the tempting utopian allure of the Marxist philosophy and its remarkable psychological impact, it is hardly surprising that a number of contemporary dissident Marxists in Eastern Europe, notably the members of the Budapest School, continue to insist on the relevance of Marxist paradigms to the analysis of authoritarian-bureaucratic systems. While granting that these dissidents are anti-totalitarian, Tismaneanu nevertheless accuses them of self-delusion and cowardice—seemingly afraid to commit intellectual parricide, they continue to genuflect before the metaphysical archetypes of an obviously moribund system.

On the other hand, Tismaneanu elegantly chronicles the intellectual journeys taken during the past thirty years by other, more thoroughly disenchanted Eastern-bloc Communists. Choosing paths quite unknown to their Western peers, Eastern Europe's intellectual dissidents, inheritors of the culture of "apocalyptical irony" epitomized by Franz Kafka, have created a world where dreams and politics are "mysteriously intertwined in a foreboding allegorical texture." Characterized by alternations between utopian hope and dystopian despair, these journeys have

Benevolent geniuses or monsters of deception?

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Paul Johnson

Intellectuals

Author of A HISTORY OF THE JEWS and MODERN TIMES: The World from the Twenties to the Eighties.

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led ultimately to the search for eternal, transpolitical values.

Tismaneanu concludes his book with an informative and perceptive chapter suggestively titled "Neo-Stalinism and Reform Communism." Unfashionable as it may be today to describe Gorbachev as a "neo-Stalinist," Tismaneanu does so unabashedly, citing Gorbachev's firm determination not to let the present crisis tear the Soviet empire apart at the seams. Even so, he predicts, the magnitude of the crisis is so great that over time the general secretary's determination will become increasingly irrelevant. If Marxism isn't dead now, it will be soon enough. □

BASIC B. DE MILLE

J. O. Tate

The Hollywood History of the World: From One Million Years B.C. *to* Apocalypse Now, *by George MacDonald Fraser (Beech Tree, 425 pp., $22.95)*

ANYTHING MR. FRASER writes is well worth reading; he has been an amusing and enlightening presence for years. His suavely outrageous "Flashman" books, for instance, affectionately and shrewdly celebrate the history they send up; and there are always lessons along with the laughter.

The same is true here, as Fraser pursues his usual anti-antithetical course. He asserts the essential validity of those bodice-ripping costume-dramas, papier-mâché Biblical rehashes, and pectoral-flexing epics we've either despised or been instructed firmly that we should.

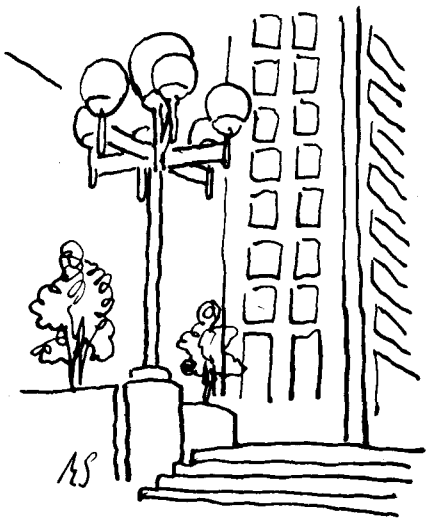
> At their best, [movies] have given a picture of the ages more vivid and memorable than anything in Tacitus or Gibbon or Macaulay, and to an infinitely greater audience. Nor have they necessarily been less scrupulous. At least they have shown history, more faithfully than they are usually given credit for, as it was never seen before. For better or worse, nothing has been more influential in shaping our visions of the past than the commercial cinema.

He's *not* kidding. He doesn't hesitate to dish up for us all the hoary horse operas, inert melodramas, and leaden turkeys of youthful popcorn-scented memory. There are no references here to the icons of cultists, to theories of film, to Bergman or Godard or Truffaut. We are talking about your basic Cecil B. De Mille.

Fraser celebrates films you never hear mentioned these days, and the makers of those "wrong" films, for giving us "the image of the image," for effectively teaching some history by imprinting it on the public imagination. There's a lot of instruction and fun along the way, and not only about film. Fraser's strictures about history itself form a subtext that is the strongest part of the book—and is related to the serious implications of the boisterous and seemingly satirical "Flashman papers" he has "edited" for many years. For example, he goes after anachronistic sentiments as expressed in *Zulu* (in which, by the way, the part of King Cetewayo was played by Chief Buthelezi!) as follows:

> After Rorke's Drift the film has Bromhead viewing the carnage and saying he feels ashamed. I doubt if Bromhead really felt or said any such thing; he had no cause to. I question, too, whether Chard expressed such repugnance. They were professional soldiers, doing their duty, and when it was done I would guess they just felt very tired, very relieved, and not a little elated. That may be hard for modern audiences to take, but it is how British soldiers were. I'm sure Chard and Bromhead felt great admiration for the Zulus, but shame, or disenchantment with the profession of arms? No. They continued to serve in the Army until their deaths, by which time they were both colonels.

Fraser has no truck with present-day clichés or revisionism; he doesn't indulge in any self-flagellation about imperialism and colonialism. Seeing Hollywood westerns as "the best historical films ever made," he goes on to press a point about the Indians and the frontiersmen:



> The current fashion is to overlook or condone Indian atrocities, and hold the American Army and invading settlers guilty, and indeed America had much to answer for in its treatment of the tribes. But it has to be remembered that those soldiers and settlers were the grandchildren of Fort William Henry and Fort Pitt and the Mohawk Valley, and with such a folk-memory it is possible to understand why they regarded Indians as they did. . . . they cannot fairly be blamed for not seeing things from the academic viewpoint of the 1980s. They had the feeling of their time—as did the Indians.

Fraser's dismissals of all kinds of fraudulent assumptions have a special authority when he writes about war movies set in Southeast Asia, where he served as a rifleman in the British 14th Army during the Second World War. He really doesn't like *The Long and the Short and the Tall*, with its "whining, hysterical, garrulous caricatures":

> It is not the only film to attribute exaggerated emotions to military men in combat, but it happens to be one of which I can say that it does not, to put it mildly, tally with my own experience. It trivializes war, most of its conversation is ludicrous, the needling and hatred would not have been tolerated in a real infantry section for five minutes, and it lacks any sense of how soldiers think or behave in action. For example: they do not discuss the Geneva Convention; they do not go into pathetic heart-searchings about killing a Japanese prisoner (they either do or they don't); the notion that they would attach importance to the kind of cigarettes the prisoner was carrying is simply nonsense in a theater where both sides commonly smoked each other's, including those looted from the Chinese; they do not have impassioned arguments about whether or not to obey orders; above all, they do not shout the odds when there are Japs about.

By extension then, Fraser's observations about *The Deer Hunter*, *Platoon*, and *Full Metal Jacket* have a certain authority and impact that I have not seen from any other source.

Even though Fraser's enthusiasm for "bad movies" has a way of reminding us of just how bad they were and are, his gusto and good sense are contagious, as always. Fraser's *Hollywood History* suggests that even in the age of mass communications, we may

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"know" more history than we think we do. His advocacy justifies our indulgence in all those movies we secretly preferred all along. □

SOUND ON DISC

MOZART, MAHLER, AND OTHERS

Ralph de Toledano

THE ITALIANS of Mozart's time made a sharp distinction between *opera buffa* and *opera seria*. Mozart, in his two greatest operas, *Don Giovanni* and *Le Nozze di Figaro*, rose above both—though if they are comedy, it is only in Balzac's sense of *comédie humaine*. *Le Nozze* was roughly based on Beaumarchais's *Le Mariage de Figaro*, but from this Mozart and his librettist, Lorenzo da Ponte, created what Stendhal described as a "sublime blend of wit and melancholy." The blend is such that it is sometimes hard to tell whether the music flowed from the libretto or vice versa.

In what Virgil Thomson has called the most touching pictures of eighteenth-century life, *Le Nozze* places masters and servants on the same level of human experience and folly. The stagecraft is artificial, but from it emerges great art and great commentary. Now a three-disc CD recording (L'Oiseau Lyre 421 333-2) by the Drottningholm Court Theatre Orchestra and Chorus, playing the instruments of the time and directed by Arnold Ostman, proves a point I have made in the past: that in Mozart's operas, good voices that meet in ensemble and good vocal acting make better music than one or two great show-off stars.

□ Mahler. A sadness of horns. The horns are there, and the sadness, too, in his rich and complex symphonies. He was perhaps the greatest conductor of his time, this Viennese Jew whose conversion to Catholicism brought him not peace but a further step along his own *via dolorosa*. Each new symphony seemed to be a stele on the road of misery he traveled, yet in each he expressed the grandeur and tragedy of the human condition and the need for God.

Mahler's Eighth is the apotheosis of his writing, but all his symphonies form a continuum. We are getting them now on compact disc, which, one might say, was invented for the great tonal masses and the sudden dynamics of his work. I commend to you therefore his No. 3 with the London Symphony under Michael Tilson Thomas (CBS M2K 44553); No. 4 with the Boston Symphony under Seiji Ozawa (Philips 422 072-2); and No. 5 with the Vienna Philharmonic under Lorin Maazel (CBS MDK 44782). Here are three orchestras and conductors of different voice and manner, yet the powerful and resounding declaration of Mahler levels them. Play them one after the other and do not cavil over interpretation. They are of a piece—and magnificent. The very thinness of Mahler's melodic invention becomes a virtue in our enjoyment of what he does with each theme.

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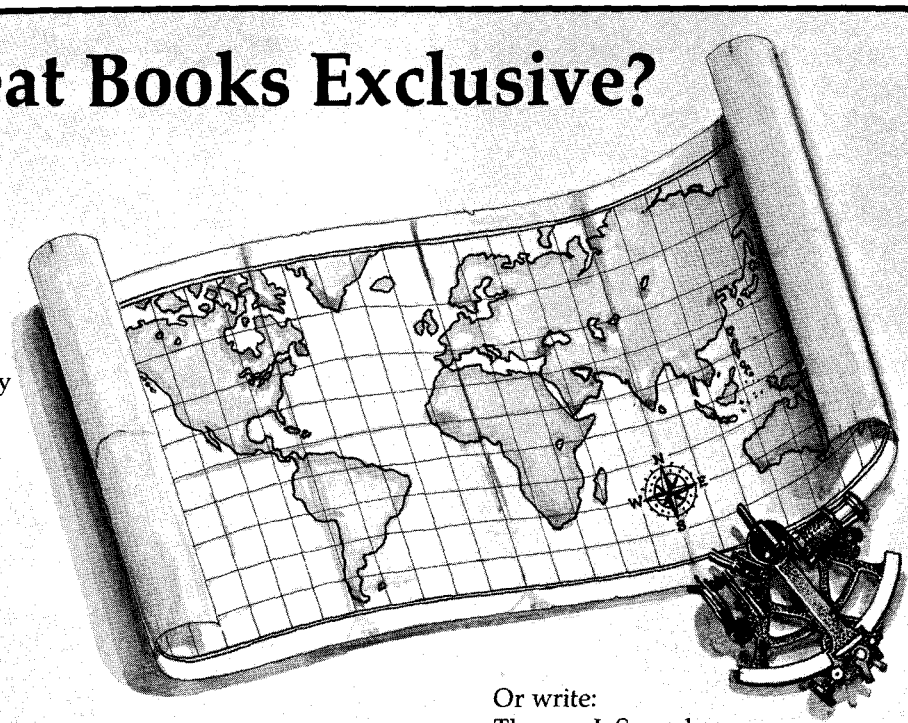

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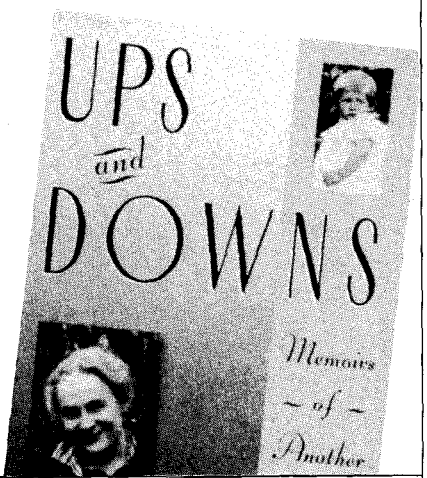

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☐ Christopher Hogwood, who records with the orchestra of the Academy of Ancient Music, has been reproached for being metronomic in his conducting of the Beethoven symphonies, and of being pedantic and stodgy generally. There is some irony in this, for Beethoven was a bear about metronomic faithfulness and carefully marked his scores for the benefit of contemporary and future conductors. I find myself in total disagreement with Hogwood's critics, and I offer as Exhibit A his recording of Beethoven's Sixth in F—the *Pastoral* (L'Oiseau Lyre 421 416-2). There are no tinkling brooks in Hogwood's reading—no pandering to a "program" that Beethoven never intended—and his dynamics are both sturdy and wise. The symphony itself, in the instrumental dress that Beethoven gave it, sounds fresh in comparison to most current performances.

☐ We forget, when we consider the Baroque, that Bach was not its only exemplar, and that his foursquare Germanic invention drew much from the Italian grace of his contemporaries and predecessors. There is more lyricism and aural pleasure in a couple of hours of the music of Arcangelo Corelli, I would venture, than in most of Bach. Corelli wrote for instruments as if they were human voices, and his lyricism was exquisite. Four of his sonatas for violin, cello, lute, and harpsichord are now available in a happy rendering by Monica Huggett and Alison Bury (violins), Jaap ter Linden (cello), Hopkinson Smith (lute), and Ton Koopman (harpsichord and organ) (Philips 416 614-2).

☐ A critic invites mayhem when he notes that Vladimir Horowitz has employed his fantastic pianistic technique to dismember the music of everyone from Scarlatti to Scriabin. So we put laser beam to recording of *Horowitz Live at Carnegie Hall: The Historic Concerts of 1965, 1966, and 1968* (CBS M3K 44681) with a kind of fatal fascination. The touch, the *legato*, the *fortissimi*, the butterflies and the elephants dancing on the keyboard—they are all there, but one wonders what happened to Bach and Mozart. There is no denying the sheer brilliance of the Horowitz technique, and it is all great fun, but I leave it to you, dear reader, to decide what else it is.

☐ There is another and very real pleasure in listening to *Pavarotti at Carnegie Hall* (London 421 526-2). Pavarotti is good, really good, though he has begun to strain a little and to show off a lot. This happens to singers who feel that they must keep their followers in ecstasy. It is true that he is no Caruso or Tagliavini. But he roams easily between head and chest tones—and one knows that when he hits that high one he will do so squarely and roundly. But perhaps the time has come for Pavarotti to stop demonstrating that he has a fine and powerful voice, and show us some of the artistry that a voice like his deserves.

☐ Gabriel Fauré should not be judged because he preferred shining young sopranos to "old goats who have never known love." None of this spirit can be found in his *Requiem*. Unlike the Berlioz *Requiem*, which shook the gates of Heaven, and Verdi's less muscular contemplation of death and the hereafter, Fauré's is a contemplative vision of the peace that was come to him. Its spirit is expressed in a new recording by soprano Kiri Te Kanawa, baritone Sherrill Milnes, and the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, led by Charles Dutoit (London 421 440-2). As we grow older, death seems a vista of nothingness, to match our pre-birth. The gently lovely faith in Fauré's *Requiem* speaks differently. ☐

THE GIMLET EYE

DINNER ON RAJNEESH

D. Keith Mano

YOU KNOW RAJNEESH. They bill him as The Greatest Mystic of All Time and not one drop more. This Rajneesh (his Christian names are Bhagwan and Shree) invented Dynamic Meditation—which is to the spirit and karma and such-forth what Dynamic Tension was to Charles Atlas's bicep. If you still can't place him, Raj was that swami with a different Rolls Royce for each day of the month. Okay, to be fair about it, his people had them, not Raj. These very well-heeled people—his American neo-sannyas (disciples)—also bought Raj most of Oregon. Then they threw maybe $150 million

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into putting up a five-thousand-person town, the biggest (and I quote) most controversial spiritual community ever in America. Raj, however, is enlightened beyond any tact at all. His ideas are kind of irritating to any normal American. And around 1985 Raj was given the old college heave-ho on some probably trumped-up charge of immigration fraud. That Rajneesh, I mean.

Well, Hasya ("Laughter," as they say it in Indian) is the beautiful and, I suppose, *loaded* international secretary for Raj. She, plus her knock-out assistant, Prarthana ("Prayer"), from Michigan are drumming up good will with any writer soever who'll give Raj a column inch and at least get his name right. Laughter and Prayer invited me over to their suite in the posh-but-so-quiet Lombardy Hotel for some swank room-service food. Christian folk should try that kind of soft-sell: it sure do beat handing out tracts on 42nd Street. Hasya said she thought the American school system should teach Dynamic Meditation. Ma'am, I told her, you so much as say *Gesundheit* to your third-grader anywhere in this great nation, you'll lose federal funds before he can thank you back. Right off I see they have a promotional problem and could use my wide knowhow with every tent-show religious act from Krishna to the horrendous Moon people.

So I say, lemme look your boy over, see if he could've been a contender. Quick as tadpole soup the ladies flash some videotape at me. And there is Raj himself, moralizing full time for his daily audience of seven thousand or so in Poona, India—not that I can see one single Indian among them. This stage set he is on might be Superman's Krypton palace where Marlon Brando died, and Raj has an outfit some Klingon from *Star Trek* could've worn. Now I will say this about Raj—first, he has wonderful eyes that bespeak deep spirituality or a thyroid condition, but then again no sense even *starting* in the guru game unless you got eyeballs that poke way out. Second, he can sure craft entertainment for folk who are just bright and bored enough t'give themselves trouble.

Raj advertises his method as Tantric Buddhism with a strong Zen serve and volley. Mind now, he has also done time teaching philosophy at Jabalpur U. and is real sharp on Wittgenstein or Gertrudestein. Best, he admires to take an intellectual bromide and put some heavily accented English on it. For instance: Heraclitus said you can't step in the same river twice. Raj saw that and raised it. You can't step *once*, he said (since the river will change even as your darn foot goes in). Me, I say since change is a major trait of riverness, rivers are the same no matter when you step in: they're *changing*, dang it. Otherwise the Mississippi would be asphalt by now. And who could care less anyway? Still, these rishi sophisms play big in Poona, where you can't get cable. Like how Raj blamed AIDS on "murderous" Catholicism—because the Catholic Church went in for celibacy, which led to homosexual hijinks. That may be a little less foolish than laying it all on the CIA, but I hate to split hairs.

Course some sentiments Raj has delivered himself of are pretty keen. Like he said Indian culture is just about the rottenest, most corrupt and cruel ever thought up—a thing that can't be mentioned too often, and you won't catch me steppin' in that Ganges River even once. His stand on free speech and why women shouldn't be thrown alive on the funeral barbecue no one would bicker about. Also I relish how he'll use some dirty joke from *Playboy* for a parable. Nothing is more comfortable than to hear your holy man talk filth—makes him seem like a Kiwanis brother. But the big discount item for Raj is how he won't put down materialism. Sure, he stands above it, rarefied like aerosol spray, but he don't mind standin' *beside* it either. Mammon himself could drop by Poona and not get cut dead. See, most of all, his neo-sannyas—who could afford the Air India commute, which I can't—need to be let off from their sex and money guilt.

That, natch, is what fouled up Raj in Oregon. Us less-than-upper-middle-class Americans enjoy our guilt hot and strong—we don't want no foreign smart-aleck poachin' on it. Cotton Mather, now he is my sort of bodhisattva. Like I told Laughter across a last nip brandy, Raj has got to cut his beard and take that dumb shower cap off. And ditch the pro-abortion stuff. And pure provocation such as "marriage has destroyed all possibilities of happiness for millions." And, "Nietzsche says God is dead, but that's wrong because God has never been there in the first place." Raj might figure we're repressed and maybe so—but I don't think real joy can exist if you don't have to sneak it on the side. Anything else is like playing pool with 15 pockets.

But, just between you and me, →

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THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

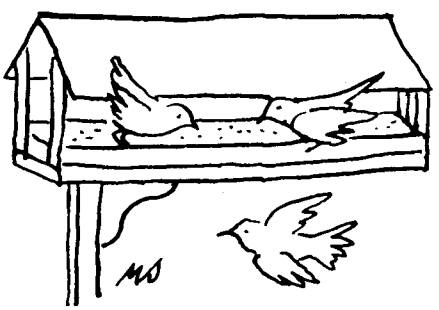
" 'Jesus was the only One that ever raised the dead,' The Misfit continued, 'and He shouldn't have done it. He thown everything off balance.' "—Flannery O'Connor, "A Good Man Is Hard to Find"

As Thomas Molnar reminds us in the latest of his many books, *Twin Powers: Politics and the Sacred* (Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 255 Jefferson Avenue, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan 49503; $9.95), The Misfit has not been alone over the centuries in his opinion that the Jesus story—the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection—thowed the whole world, including history itself, out of kilter. Almost from the beginning, it was observed of Christianity that this religion possessed peculiar and irresistible powers, whose ineluctable effect was to desacralize the pagan universe wherever and whenever it encountered it. Henceforth there would be one Mediator and one only—Jesus Christ the Messiah—between man and God, where before there had been hundreds and thousands; henceforth, wherever Christ triumphed, the sun would be only the sun, the stars merely points of gaseous fire, a tree no more than a fibrous shoot of spiritless vegetable life. For Christians, ritual was unavailing without purity of intent, while the City of God provided no direct model for the City of Man, the real model for the Christian life being Jesus Himself; finally, Christianity replaced the cyclical view of history with the linear one, which emphasized the uniqueness of historical events precipitated by the actions of individuals. "In sum," Molnar writes,

> the presuppositions of a scientifically regarded universe were born, with no room for forces that might counteract God's creative and sustaining will. . . . The social order of Christian nations was . . . no longer regarded as a sacred order like the Indian caste system; instead it had freedom and autonomy, and the vast sphere reserved for historical and political action was now profane, essentially outside the bounds of religion. . . . The new spirit, based on the new cosmology, carried in itself all the elements of the modern view of a uniform, homogeneous space, where no point was privileged, no one point was distinguishable from any other, except by an occasional local irregularity that further scientific observation and calculation could clarify. In other words, in the Christian cosmology that is still ours today, there was no high and low, no tendency of bodies to seek their "natural" place, no causation in the processes of nature by psychic and supernatural forces.

Thus did Christianity, indeed, thow everything off balance. And, like some Titan struggling to project a mighty boulder, its efforts have proved nearly as unbalancing to itself as to others, to the point even—or so many of its critics have suggested—of self-destruction. According to this view, Christianity, like capitalism, is doomed by its own inherent contradictoriness.

Readers of previous books by the same author will know that Thomas Molnar is not of that opinion; he concludes this book by observing how "The soul, at all times a rectifier of matter, appears as the only conceivable counterpoint to the material dynamics implicit in the linear course of history." In other words, he preaches hope, no more—or no less. According to Professor Molnar, the West is suffering—perhaps terminally—from a loss of authority (and therefore of power), produced by the secularization of politics, which is itself a direct result of the desacralization of the cosmos. Our situation, he reminds us, is an unprecedented one, offering no clues to future developments or devolutions; until yesterday, so to speak, our ancestors retained some sense of the ruler as mediator between the supernatural and his own subjects, as the priest was recognized to be the intercessor between God, or the gods, and the human souls for which he was responsible. While acknowledging that "there is . . . apparent in [all] great civilizations a gradual transformation from the community's sacred structure and foundation under a divine order to a popular and individual structure," Molnar insists, with utter plausibility, that never in history has the logic of developments been played out so far as it has been in the contemporary West, where not only have politics, society, and culture been thoroughly desacralized, *but even religion itself*; today, "It is an intriguing question whether our age is capable of generating [another] myth with the power to move nations and civilizations. . . . we cannot produce a new sacred, and we cannot revive the traditional one." The only perceivable way around the impasse lies in the ability of the individual soul, "at any time, again and again, [to] humbly request divine assistance."



Some months ago I remarked in this space of Benjamin Hart's *Faith & Freedom* that it was "too Protestant"; perhaps perversely then, I find my chief complaint against *Twin Powers* to be that it is too Catholic. Professor Molnar, as an essentially Old World philosopher, does not hedge on his argument that democracy is to a substantial degree implicated in the situation he deplores. While I by no means regard mass democracy as Christian theology applied to politics, I was definitely displeased to find the work of the Constitutional Convention described as an attempt to build "a community *not* founded on the sacred." Of course, the Founders were trying to erect a system of government, not to create a "community," which had thrived for nearly two centuries before their deliberations. (Professor Molnar, it seems to me, fails to grasp a fact that Mr. Hart appreciates, but overemphasizes.) Earlier in his book, Molnar identifies the displacement of the sacred from the cosmos to the relationship between a human being and his God as "the risk Christianity takes." In fact, *Twin Powers* makes it eloquently clear that Christianity is itself the ultimate risk—and therefore the ultimate challenge—that every Christian since Christ has known it to be, and of which the risks and challenges of democracy are a faint, though real, approximation. □

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→ Raj got rid out on a rail in Oregon. It was not America's handsomest hour. So I intend to sign this petition defending his right of free speech here and elsewhere. Even a gadfly crank should have that. Just so you don't make me listen. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

News Coverage of the Sandinista Revolution, by Joshua Muravchik (American Enterprise Institute, 128 pp., $19.75)

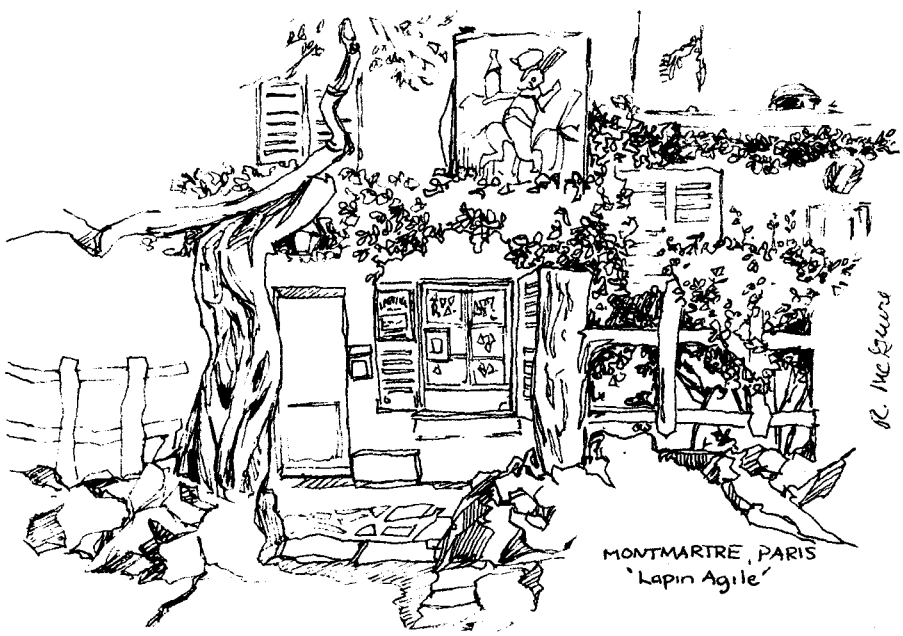
A RARE CANDID interview with *Comandante* Tomás Borge appeared recently in the Marxist *New Left Review*. The revered minister of the "Sentinel of the People's Happiness," as the Sandinistas refer to their Ministry of the Interior, noted that, after the Sandinistas took over, there was a honeymoon period in which everyone loved them, including the middle classes. Why? Borge gave a straightforward answer: "They thought we were going to create a democracy." I thought of this interview when reading Joshua Muravchik's rather devastating exposé of how the U.S. press described the Sandinistas before and during the first year of their revolution. Here we find Karen DeYoung of the *Washington Post* writing in May 1979 that, "although considered one of the doctrinaire Marxists within the pluralistic Sandinista leadership," Borge "pledged that the Sandinistas 'do not propose a socialistic scenario, but rather a democratic one, with early elections.'" Borge, of course, was dissembling in order to mask the Sandinistas' real agenda. What Muravchik shows is that the American press by and large bought their lies—and often spread Sandinista propaganda as fact. After reading Muravchik's valuable book, journalists will have little excuse left for not doing their homework. So can we expect better coverage of the Sandinistas now, ten years after their victory? There are glimmers of hope. Press watchers have noted some new tough reporting from Stephen Kinzer, who was undoubtedly affected by being hit on the head after identifying himself as a *New York Times* reporter at a mass demonstration in which 39 major oppositionists were tear-gassed and arrested. I do not wish that experience on other of our treasured journalists: far easier for them to read and study Muravchik's book, and avoid the embarrassment of finding themselves in an update a few years hence.

RONALD RADOSH

Liability: The Legal Revolution and Its Consequences, by Peter W. Huber (Basic, 272 pp., $19.95)

IN THIS LUCID, readable account, Peter Huber of the Manhattan Institute chronicles the transformation of tort law—the law of accidents and personal injury—from "a remote and sleepy province of the law's empire" into the chaotic disaster that it is today. This revolution has occurred in just the last thirty years, staged largely out of public view by a small group of judges and law professors whom Huber ironically calls "the Founders." The noble purpose of their enterprise was to make the law more "rational" and "compassionate": famous last words, all too often heard. Huber correctly identifies the abandonment of traditional ideas about contracts as the crucial turning point in the development of tort law. Formerly, people could work out for themselves how best to allocate the health and safety risks that attended their dealings with others; the transformation of tort law gave the courts the power to impose their own solutions without regard to private choice. Armed with that power, "the Founders" went to work tearing down all the old barriers to liability—fault, causation, statutes of limitation, etc.—and expanded the limits of liability by introducing open-ended pain-and-suffering and punitive-damage awards. Their hope was to sharpen safety incentives and at the same time to improve accident victims' chances of recovering damages. What happened, of course, was that the burden of liability ended up crushing when it meant to prod; as for compensating victims, the new system purchased occasional lavishness at the cost of wild inconsistency. Huber tells the story brilliantly, adeptly cutting through the legalese to lay bare the real-life impact of obscure shifts in judicial reasoning. He is similarly acute when he suggests ways out of the present mess. Instead of just calling for a return to the good old days, Huber proposes concrete changes in the law that would rejuvenate the flexibility and certainty of contract, but without reintroducing some of the harsher elements of the old system. If there is a fault in this fine book, it is that Huber oversimplifies the nature of the problem. He gives the impression that tort law is just an aberration in an otherwise sensible and smooth-running legal system, and that some changes here and there in doctrine will fix the whole thing. But the tort liability explosion is not an isolated phenomenon; rather, it is part of the larger pattern of liberal America's obsessive search for legal and political cures for every social ill. In this broader view, the tort revolution appears at the same time easier to explain and harder to undo than Huber suggests.

WILLIAM B. LINDSEY



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PAUL GREENBERG:

Disgraceful

In the old days, when Congress was accountable to the public instead of to Jim Wright, . . . a secret survey of House members to see if they really wanted a vote that might block their pay raise . . . would have been seen as the outrage it was.

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NORTHEASTERN WOMAN LAWYER, 35, attractive, never married, family values. Interests include arts (especially music), Western landscapes, and Washington, D.C. Seeks single, professional, Christian man. NR Box 6160.

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NEW YORK MAN, 42, aspiring writer currently aspiring to television writing. Present occupation: manager in the business office of a local college. Interests include rock music, geopolitics, military affairs, stimulating conversation. Enjoys the city for its bookstores and libraries. Seeks attractive, literate woman. NR Box 6138.

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IS MY SECDEF DRUNK?

NEW YORK, MARCH 6

SEVERAL QUESTIONS will need to be examined after the vote on John Tower is finally in, but why postpone consideration of the singularly intimidating point made by Senator Nunn, namely that the Secretary of Defense is second in the operational chain of command in a nuclear age. The clear message was that the American people would need to wonder every night whether, if John Tower had a martini before dinner, we would be flirting with nuclear apocalypse.

True, Senator Tower took away this weapon when, two weeks ago, he said that if he took office he would cease drinking altogether for the length of his tenure. This pledge of contingent abstinence did not have the intended effect; but even so we are left to wonder whether someone who drinks or even someone who has been seen drunk can't serve as Secretary of Defense, for the reasons insinuated by Senator Nunn.

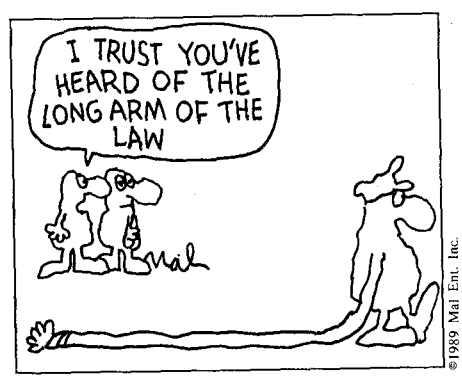
We are, really, left with the impression that as Secretary of Defense John Tower might . . . do what?

Launch a nuclear strike against the Soviet Union without orders to do so from the President? Was that what Senator Nunn was thinking about? Well, without knowing the details of highly secret arrangements, as a potential victim of a nuclear exchange initiated by an inebriated Secretary of Defense, I would like Senator Nunn to answer this question: Suppose that a Secretary of Defense lurched into his office after the cocktail hour, or for that matter rang up from home, and said to the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "Lob a cruise missile (hic) from one of our submarines into Leningrad." Would the orders go out to our submarines? If this is so, then we all have much more to worry about than the confirmation of Senator Tower. If we can go trippingly into war because there aren't internal protections against the kind of thing Senator Nunn is hinting at, then there ought to be, and why are we waiting so long?

Or is Senator Nunn saying that he is afraid that a SecDef who drinks might respond inadequately to orders from a President? What kind of orders? Suppose that Bush were to call the Pentagon and order a general alert. Is it suggested that a Defense Secretary who had been to a cocktail party, or even one who had gone to bed drunk, would estop the flow of instructions from the President? What contingency arrangements do we have to protect ourselves against such an interruption of the current of orders originating with the Commander-in-Chief? Suppose that the President decided on an alert at 11:05 and at 11:03 the Secretary of Defense had suffered a stroke? What actually would happen? Wouldn't the orders flow by predetermined direction to the deputy secretary of defense? Surely the will of the President cannot depend for its execution on instantly locating an instantly alert Secretary of Defense?

Suppose that the President wishes to consult with the Secretary of Defense over a crisis and the Secretary of Defense is a little lightheaded after three margaritas. Well, let's see: 1) the SecDef could sober up in a hurry, as we have all seen people do under pressure; 2) the President could leave him out of the earlier discussions of the crisis until he had sobered up, pursuing his discussions with other members of his staff. If it were the kind of crisis that required action within, say, one half-hour (let us suppose our radar tracked an incoming armada of missiles from the Soviet Union), would consultation with the Secretary of Defense prove vital? Either such emergencies are of a kind that require instant action by the Chief Executive, in which event he has no time for consultation, merely time to give out orders; or else there is time for everyone to sober up and come into the Situation Room. When McGeorge Bundy, serving President Kennedy as National Security Advisor, learned finally that the Soviet Union had nuclear weapons in place in Cuba it was 11 in the evening. He elected not to wake up President Kennedy, but to greet him with news of this development at breakfast the following morning. Why? Mr. Kennedy was a non-drinker, so it wasn't a matter of giving him time to sleep it off . . . It was, rather, a reasoned alternative to melodramatic midnight sessions, which run the danger of weakening the mind the following day.

Either Senator Nunn engaged in an indefensible scare tactic or else he is admitting that adequate security arrangements haven't been made in the nuclear field. Which one? □



ON PROTECTING THE HONOR OF THE KORAN

NEW YORK, MARCH 3

CONCERNING THE Ayatollah's reaction to the book, a few observations:

1. It is widely conjectured that what he is up to is politics, not theology. Iran is a mess. It is gradually dawning on the population that the war against Iraq was won by Iraq, if it can be said that there are winners of encounters so internecine. The war engaged all the splenetic instincts of Khomeini, and he urged Iran's young people to die in the ecstasy of a mission that transcribed God's will. Finally, he cried uncle and, at age 88, set out to attempt to return to Iran a small measure of the growing prosperity it was experiencing even while feeding the Peacock Throne the gold, the frankincense, and the myrrh it had taken to consuming with such Brobdingnagian appetite.

So the reasoning goes, namely that the imam had to go out and bang on the old tocsin in order to reinflame the enthusiasm felt for him when ten years ago he overthrew the Shah. So it may be, but it hardly contends with the point, namely the efficacy of the instrument he is using:

2. —which is theological in character, since it is his call to expiate blasphemy that is rallying the Moslem fundamentalists. One correspondent, remarking the extraordinary longevity of Khomeini's influence, has stated that he has only to call for demonstrations by one million Iranians

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to assure that three million of them will crowd the streets, heeding his will.

Now the intricacies of the alleged crime of Salman Rushdie are everywhere explored, and are read for the most part by Westerners who have never been engaged by the Mohammed story and for whom, therefore, discussion of whether the word "prostitute" can conceivably characterize the prophet's wives, or whether the term Mahmound can ever be used however metaphorically to refer to the prophet, is about as engaging as discussions of the trinitarian God of the Christians would be to the Moslem world.

What is left to ponder is the ferocity with which the Shiite Moslems defend their faith as they understand that faith, and it is useful to remind ourselves that there are a lot of people in the world for whom the integrity of the Koran is every bit as important as the integrity of the Bill of Rights is for most Americans. We find it hard to understand why someone would kill to defend the word of God, even though we are all expected to kill if necessary to defend the Bill of Rights.

3. Now there is the obvious difference, that we are expected to kill rather than yield to a foreign aggressor our right to life under a Bill of Rights, and that is very different from the defender of the faith in Teheran pronouncing a death sentence on a blasphemer who lives in London. The difference, then, is one of technique: We will kill only in defense of our ideals when materially challenged. Khomeini will kill in defense of his ideals when challenged anywhere in the world. His attachment to his ideals suggests that he is driven by a code of honor, much as the early Crusaders considered it an intolerable blasphemy on Christendom that there should be blasphemous activity in the Holy Land, in which Christianity was born.

4. The distinctive act of Khomeini, then, is the universalization of his concern for the honor of Moslem dogma. "A few weeks ago," writes Youssef Ibrahim of the *New York Times*, "angered over remarks made in a television interview about the Prophet Mohammed's daughter, he ordered all those responsible for the program arrested and executed. The incident became the talk of Iran. A few days later, the Ayatollah granted a pardon, when he was told that it was all an innocent mistake." This is a serious man.

Now we are entitled, given the perspectives of the twentieth century, to conclude quite simply that the man is also quite mad. That a man so ostentatiously mad should exercise such power as he exercises is a matter of international curiosity and concern. We are talking on the eve of near-universal access to the atom bomb. There is little doubt that the Iraqis would now have it, save for the boldness and prescience of the Israelis. And if an ayatollah is prepared to enjoin his followers to execute an author and everyone else engaged in dishonoring the Koran, what might we expect ten years down the line when the Ayatollah's successor may understand his responsibility as mandating the use of nuclear weapons to efface a Western blasphemy?

It is instructive to remind ourselves how the same man was lionized for so many years, as the chosen way of opposing the enormities of the Shah. □

MOURN HIROHITO?

NEW YORK, FEB. 27

THE FLURRY over whether Mr. Bush should have gone to Japan reminds us of several things, among them the advantages of historical ambiguity. Attorney and writer Bruce Fein wrote in *USA Today* postulating the personal guilt of the Emperor in World War II and wondering whether George Bush would also attend the funeral of Kurt Waldheim. Mr. Fein leans heavily on David Bergamini's *Japan's Imperial Conspiracy* to charge that "Hirohito initiated, sanctioned, or condoned: 1) wars of aggression launched in violation of the 1928 Pact of Paris; 2) the Bataan death march, which cost ten thousand lives and justified execution of a Japanese general after the war; 3) use of slave labor to build the Thai-Burmese railway, at a cost of 100,000 POW lives."

Same day, same newspaper: novelist and Sinologist Robert Elegant writes, "Regarding the recent controversy about the Emperor of Japan, I should like to quote from an interview that he gave to Bernard Krisher of *Newsweek* [in 1975] . . .

" '**Q.** Your Majesty, it is common knowledge that you played a significant role in ending the war. How do you answer those who contend that you were also in on the decision-making process that caused Japan to enter the war?

" '**A.** At the time of the termination of the war, I made the decision on my own. That is because the prime minister failed to obtain agreement in the Cabinet and asked my opinion. So, I stated my opinion and then made the decision according to my opinion. Now, at the time of the outbreak of the war and also before the war, when the Cabinet made decisions, I could not override their decisions. I believe this was in accordance with the provisions of the Japanese constitution.' "

The point is as simple as this, namely that when the Japanese, after the Nagasaki bomb, got in touch with intermediaries in Switzerland, it was to say that they would not accept an unconditional surrender. They would accept only a surrender that held harmless the person of the Emperor.

We agreed. I am glad we did, not least because at the time I was in the United States infantry and informed talk was of one million American lives lost if the war had been carried to the shores of Japan. What then happened was that General MacArthur drew a strict dividing line between the Emperor and the fallen government. Tojo was hanged (a case of victors' justice, in the estimate of many); and the Emperor —with his enthusiastic consent, one gathers —was stripped of his divinity. General MacArthur was not going to be outdone by Nietzsche.

From that moment on came the great reconciliation that is the high-water mark of international affairs. The British drew their breath when the president of West Germany was invited on a state visit to London: this happened an incredible 13 short years after the end of the war. The closeness of de Gaulle and Adenauer was a monument to the possibilities of transbellicose life. Such was the treatment one might have expected Abraham Lincoln to give to Jefferson Davis, by which the Era of Reconstruction might have been aborted.

IT IS DIFFICULT for republicans to remember that a dead monarch is worshipped for anthropomorphic reasons: he is the incarnation of the country itself. Nobody in his right mind could have worshipped Queen Victoria if she had been merely Ms. Victoria, that dowdy, humorless little authoritarian, but when Diamond Jubilee time came around, and then her death four years later, the British Empire first celebrated, and then mourned—itself. Japan's rise from the ashes of 1945 is the most remarkable industrial achievement in history, and it is the way with human beings that they see history or tend to do so in the person of human beings, which is why we refer to the Victorian age, or to the Periclean age. Japan, these last few days, has been celebrating itself, and it was wise for George Bush to be there, and piquant that a man who had been shot down in the Pacific by a servant of the Emperor should travel to Tokyo to mourn the death of that same emperor, 45 years later.

We should not need to be reminded how critical are our relations with Japan. It is a mutual dependence, inasmuch as Japan without oil is like a car without gas, and ours is the only navy strong enough to guarantee, if pressure arose, that oil would reach Japan. But we need to take every opportunity to stress to the Japanese that their future is best charted by avoiding on the one hand such imperial excesses as pockmarked Hirohito's first twenty years on the throne; and avoiding, similarly, the always seductive lure of the Left, whose mortal coils could kill modern Japan. Speaking of funerals, that one would dwarf Hirohito's. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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B. Like Definition A
40 176 138 104 3 72 32 113 19 146 92

C. Mississippi transportation
102 122 24 15 180 149 36 64 153 76

D. Floored
145 98 156 20 37 111 179 162 9 57 87

E. Group of hovels
21 67 5 170 53 163 31 154 94 130

F. Pottery type
88 148 100 110 48 63 23 155 159 108 10

G. Ice-cream variety
91 38 131 119 150 1 22 65 166 52

H. Emotional displays
177 12 93 75 125 157 28 60 167

I. Arrogant
126 173 8 42 114 35 84

J. Mental footnote
17 86 132 2 39 123 56 96 151 29 175 66

K. Three score and ten years
139 115 141 51 11 69 106 25

L. Ice-cream variety
147 61 89 74 46 172

M. Field or ice
43 107 174 50 77 124

N. Female hormone
109 14 81 59 137 171 129 33

O. Funeral-procession participants
95 68 112 83 4 158 47

P. Ocean phenomena (2 words)
127 45 164 27 169 144 97 7

Q. One kind of flu
103 128 41 120 18 142 78

R. Eighteenth-century architectural style
134 54 136 85 121 73

S. Babylonian goddess
161 26 178 44 82 62

T. Kiev negatives
143 165 99 55 116

U. Gaggle members
34 90 13 160 71

V. Eric Heiden did it
135 105 118 152 80 70

1 G	2 J	3 B	4 O		5 E	6 A	7 P	8 I	9 D	10 F		11 K	12 H	13 U		14 N	15 C	16 A	17 J	18 Q	19 B
20 D	21 E		22 G	23 F	24 C	25 K	26 S	27 P	28 H	29 J	30 A	31 E	32 B	33 N	34 U		35 I	36 C	37 D	38 G	39 J
	40 B	41 Q	42 I	43 M	44 S		45 P	46 L		47 O	48 F	49 A	50 M	51 K	52 G		53 E	54 R		55 T	56 J
57 D	58 A	59 N		60 H	61 L	62 S	63 F		64 C	65 G		66 J	67 E	68 O		69 K	70 V	71 U	72 B		73 R
74 L		75 H		76 C	77 M	78 Q	79 A	80 V	81 N	82 S	83 O	84 I		85 R	86 J		87 D	88 F	89 L	90 U	91 G
92 B	93 H		94 E	95 O	96 J		97 P	98 D	99 T	100F		101A	102C	103Q	104B	105V		106K	107M	108F	109N
	110F	111D	112O	113B		114I	115K	116T		117A	118V	119C	120Q	121R	122C	123J	124M		125H	126I	127P
	128Q	129N	130E	131C	132J	133A	134R	135V		136R	137N	138B	139K	140A		141K	142Q	143T	144P		145D
146B	147L		148F	149C	150G	151J	152V		153C	154E	155F	156D	157H		158O	159F	160U	161S	162D	163E	
164F	165T		166G	167H	168A	169P	170E	171N		172L	173I	174M	175J		176B	177H	178S	179D	180C		

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 60 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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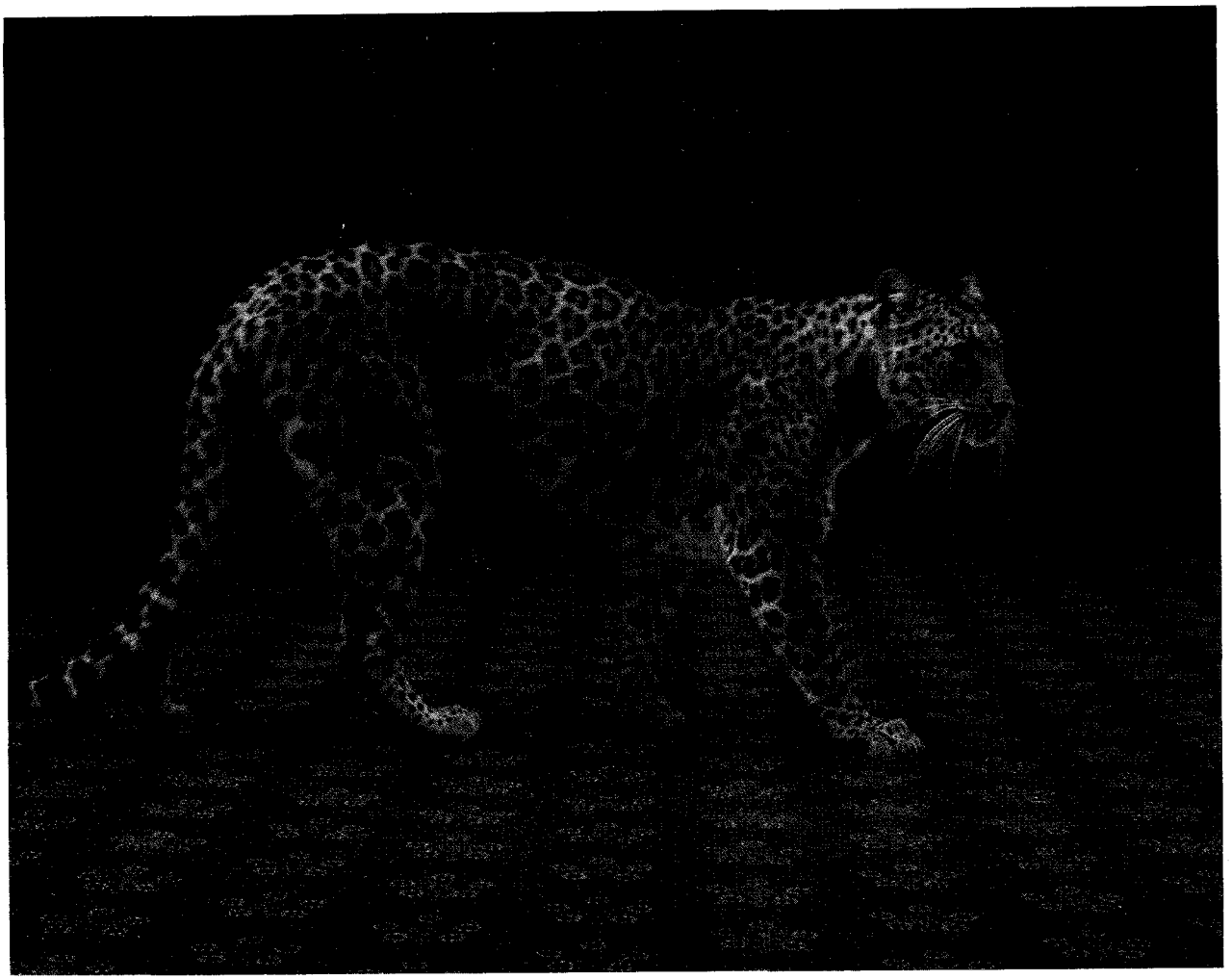

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